APRIL 25, 1983 $1.50

TIME

VIETNAM'S WOES
An Exclusive Report

Spokesman For the Elderly

"They deserve much — and need much."

Congressman Claude Pepper

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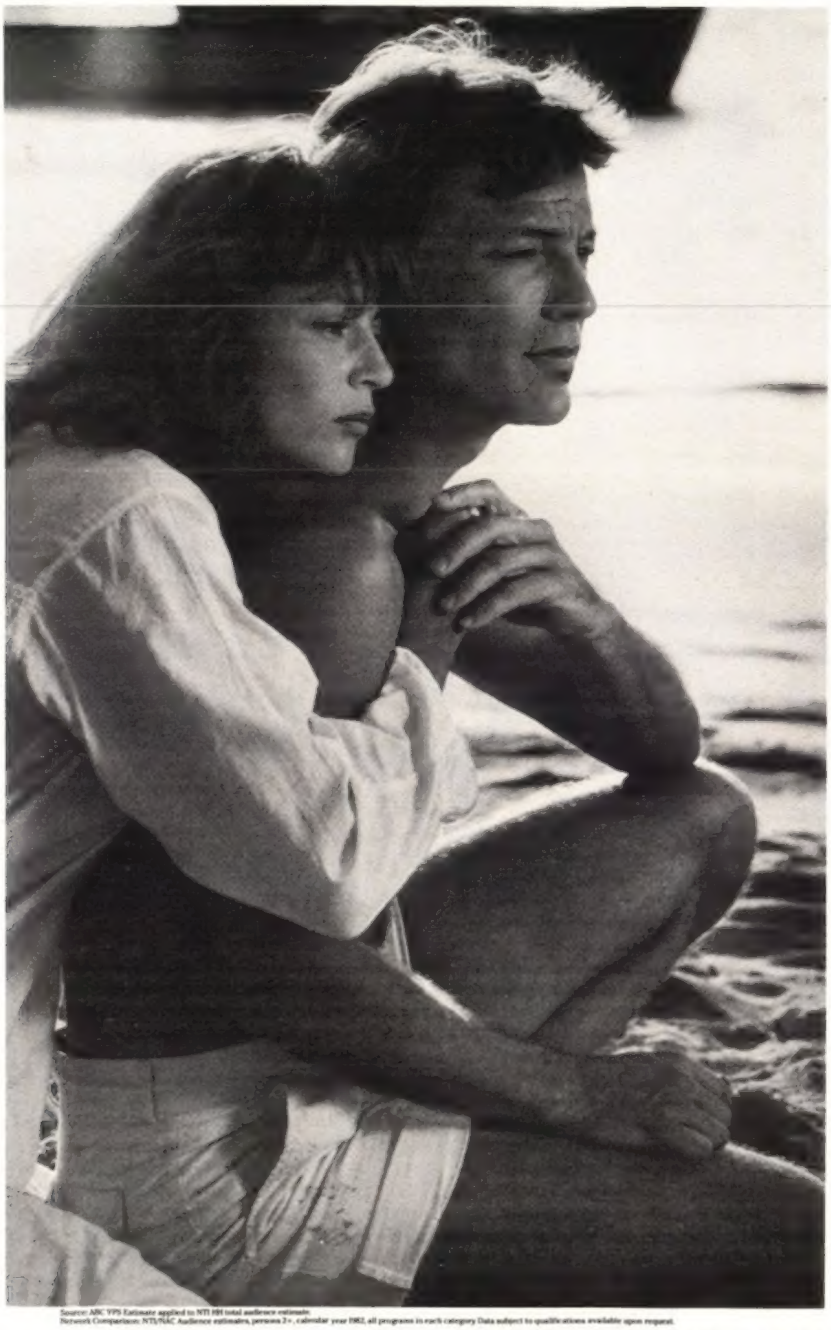

The excitement generated by "The Winds of War" had barely subsided when ABC brought America together again for "The Thorn Birds." In a matter of weeks, viewers were enthralled by two of the most popular television presentations in history.

"The Thorn Birds," in the 6 years since it was published, was purchased by about 11 million readers. Now, in just 4 nights, 110 million viewers on free advertiser-supported television were swept up in the romance and pain of Father Ralph, Meggie, and the Clearys.

And the wave of special events continues on ABC. In April, Barbara Walters offered another fascinating glimpse at the real lives of three of television's biggest stars. And America thrilled to our coverage of Hollywood's Academy Award celebration. In May, we'll present a glittering array of specials—from the Kentucky Derby to the entertainment extravaganza, "Parade of Stars."

But ABC's real strength lies in the diversity and variety of our regular programming. For news and information, sports, romance and adventure, comedy, drama and suspense, as well as special events, more people invite ABC into their homes *every day* than any other medium.

abc

ABC TELEVISION NETWORK

Source: ABC VPS Estimate applied to NTI HH total audience estimate.
Network Comparison: NTI/NAC Audience estimates, persons 2+, calendar year 1982, all programs in each category. Data subject to qualifications available upon request.

AMERICA'S AT HOME WITH ABC

One great Maytag leads to another, say Edward and Claudia Ey.

"We bought a new Maytag Dishwasher because we're so pleased with our old Maytag Washer."

Teddy, 3; Claudia and Edward Ey; Julie, 5.

"My wife Claudia and I want you to know that the reason we got a Maytag Dishwasher is that we're so delighted with the Maytag Washer we bought in 1975," writes Mr. Edward Ey, Claremont, CA.

"Three houses, two children, and eight years later, that washer still runs like new, and the repairman is still practically a stranger," he continues. But that's not too surprising, because Maytag Washers are built to last longer and save you money with fewer repairs, lower repair costs.

Mrs. Ey states she wouldn't be without her Maytag Dishwasher, because it does a great job of cleaning dishes and is so easy to load and unload.

Mr. Ey adds that their Maytag Dryer has been a faithful helper, too.

"That's quality we appreciate," states Mr. Ey. "That's why we wanted Maytag for our new dishwasher. Your quality is your best advertising," he concludes.

Naturally, we don't say all Maytags will equal that record. But long life with few repairs is what we try to build into every Maytag appliance.

See the ranges and microwave ovens the dependability people have added to the Maytag family, as well as our washers, dryers, dishwashers and disposers.

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APRIL 25, 1983 Vol. 121 No. 17

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

This week's cover story on the oldest member of the U.S. Congress, Florida Democratic Representative Claude Pepper, 82, was reported by Washington Correspondent Hays Gorey, a veteran political reporter who nonetheless admits to some initial misgivings about the assignment. "When I started interviewing Pepper," says Gorey, "I had in mind the stereotype of the aged: I feared that Pepper would repeat himself, that he would have forgotten things. I thought that I would have to look up dates for everything he talked about. How wrong I was. Pepper can reel off dates, names and long-ago events with startling accuracy. As one of the men who planned the third-term candidacy of Franklin Roosevelt, Pepper not only remembered the date and hotel where the meeting occurred, but he also remembered the food that was served: finger sandwiches."

WALTER BENNETT

Correspondent Gorey with Congressman Pepper

Over a period of five weeks, Gorey followed the endlessly energetic Congressman through a schedule of House business meetings, sessions with Miami constituents and speeches all over the country. It was an agenda that would have exhausted a teen-ager, and Gorey found Pepper's strength and stamina astonishing. "In one of the speeches I covered," Gorey recalls, "Pepper said that old people want to be treated like people. A corollary belief apparently is that he wants to act like people. One day, en route to a Miami luncheon where he was to be honored, we walked through the garage of his condominium and into his large Lincoln automobile. Surveying the cramped space and the huge guzzler, I thought: He'll never be able to maneuver it out of here. He did, though. But the engine was sputtering, and as we hit a main thoroughfare, it quit on him altogether. I told him that if he would guide the car to the curb, I would push from the rear. But he hopped out, held one hand on the steering wheel and pushed with all his might. This is a man with a pacemaker; at his age, what was he thinking of? Explained Pepper: 'I thought you needed help.' "

Pepper has appeared on TIME's cover once before, during his 1938 race in Florida for the Senate, a seat he held until 1951. As he finished his interviews for this week's cover story, the Florida Congressman put his experience as a national figure in perspective. Recalls Gorey: "He looked at me impishly and said, 'I hope you'll be around to report my third TIME cover story—45 years from now.' "

John a. Meyer

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How to think small and win big

The problems are certainly huge. Recession and unemployment. Astronomical federal deficits. The fear of interest rates rising again. Nervous money markets, sending investors scurrying for high-yield havens. These are times to be bold and think big, right? Not necessarily.

Millions of Americans simply can't afford to think big as they tussle with these problems. But what they could be thinking about are the new Series EE U.S. Savings Bonds, available only since last November 1. These bonds offer an excellent opportunity to invest with complete safety, reap high market-rate yields, and at the same time contribute to the economy's recovery—all with as little as $25.

The new Series EE Bonds are geared to current money markets. If held for at least five years, they yield a return equal to 85 percent of the average interest paid on five-year marketable Treasury securities. This holds true no matter how high these rates might go. On the downside, Series EE Bonds offer a unique guarantee: a minimum return of 7.5 percent, no matter how low other interest rates may drop, provided these bonds are held for at least five years. And as an added measure of safety, U.S. Savings Bonds can be easily replaced if lost, stolen, or destroyed.

With these features, new Series EE Bonds have become an ideal vehicle for systematic saving and planning for specific future needs, such as funding children's college education. And to make systematic saving automatic as well, many companies are geared to make payroll withholdings credited to their employees' Savings Bonds accounts. Employees can indicate how much they wish to set aside each week or month, and whenever the paycheck deductions add up to the price of a Series EE Bond in the denomination selected by the employee, a new bond is issued.

For most moderate-income families, this is a sure fire way to build a sizable nest egg. And it's also a way to help the nation's economy. At present, individual Americans own some $67 billion of U.S. Savings Bonds (the vast majority, incidentally, purchased through the payroll savings plan). That represents $67 billion the government doesn't have to borrow in the money markets. This, in turn, relieves pressure on interest rates, thereby enabling business and industry to borrow more favorably for expansion. Such expansion eventually paves the road out of the recession and toward more jobs.

Before last November, U.S. Savings Bonds were somewhat out of favor among "market-wise" savers. With interest rates rising to record heights, and with banks and money-market funds offering much higher yields than the then-fixed interest rate on Savings Bonds, most people who could afford to make the minimum deposit opted for these more exotic investments. Now this no longer holds true.

A new Series EE Bond with a maturity value of $50, for example, can be bought with as little as $25—cash or payroll savings deduction—because the high market-rate interest is compounded twice a year and credited to the bond-holder after five years. In other words, most of the advantages of more sophisticated investments are now available to the modest saver.

So think small, and start your systematic savings program with a new Series EE Bond. The first bond you buy, no matter its size, could be the start of something big.

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Letters

High-Tech War

To the Editors:

President Reagan's star wars approach to national defense [April 4] brings to mind the enormous exertions of the French in protecting themselves against Hitler. The Maginot Line didn't work then, and a Maginot mentality will not work now. It is a false road to peace.

Chandler Smith
University of Missouri
Kansas City, Mo.

President Reagan says, "Let me share with you a vision of the future which offers hope." Then he goes on to dazzle us with a Rube Goldberg scheme that would let him have his war and also survive. It is a tragedy that he could not have envisioned a plan for the peaceful sharing of our tiny planet among all peoples.

Ben Lane
Sollentuna, Sweden

It is ironic that President Reagan is calling on scientists to develop technological marvels for defense at the same time he is slashing Government programs that help future scientists further their studies. Scientific advancement never occurs magically. It is a product of education, a fact the President ignores.

Mark V. Boennighausen
John J. Coen
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Ind.

President Reagan, ever ready to quote Harry Truman, should recall the former President's wise words about defense spending: "All through history it's the nations that have given the most to the generals and the least to the people that have been the first to fall."

Andrew H. Schauer
Topeka, Kans.

In Richard Nixon's book *The Real War*, the former President says that Soviet military strategy is based on the theory that you "probe with bayonets. If you encounter steel, withdraw. If you encounter mush, continue." In light of this, I do not believe President Reagan is playing a frivolous video game. He is using shrewd military strategy.

Richard Jensen
Atlanta

They said man would never walk on the moon, but he did. So why should President Reagan's idea of space weapons be considered impossible?

Daniel Stabe
Rush City, Minn.

For twice the number of years that I have been pleading for defense based on protection rather than retaliation, I have been urging a closer cooperation between the nations of the free world. Not only would this make a great contribution to peace and economic well-being, but scientific and technical development would be greatly enhanced. I have often said that the European Common Market, a collaboration of historic enemies in the interest of their common welfare, is one of the most impressive miracles of this century.

Imagine my surprise, then, to read that I said, "We can at least be safe at home, without allies." I appreciate that "with our allies" in a Hungarian accent may sound like "without allies," or that a typographical error could accomplish this reversal. Your kind correction will keep the record straight.

Edward Teller
Stanford, Calif.

Thank you for your story on Pentagon spending, "Who Says Numbers Never Lie?" Considering these facts, it was appalling to read in your letters column [March 28] Senator Barry Goldwater's denunciation of Franklin Spinney's presentation on runaway defense costs as "talking about history, not about our current situation." Goldwater is in a position to analyze Spinney's charges objectively. Unfortunately, he has chosen to sweep them under the rug instead.

John D. Rozendaal
Houston

Nicaragua's Insurgents

Although the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua [April 4] deserves to be punished for its support of leftist guerrilla activity in El Salvador, the people of Nicaragua should not be victimized by another civil war. The U.S. and the anti-Sandinista military forces operating out of Honduras are callously disregarding the innocent Nicaraguans. Our action may sooner or later provoke the direct involvement of Cuban forces.

Donald H. Monroe Jr.
Elmira, N.Y.

It is no great surprise to hear of American involvement in Nicaragua. The U.S. Government has jumped in to aid the opponents of the Sandinistas in order to gain influence and control over events in the nations to our south. I am just as afraid as the next person of growing Soviet involvement in the region. But the U.S has its hands in too many Central American cookie jars, and, as in Viet Nam, we are bound to get caught in one of them.

Jamie A. Lopez
Los Altos, Calif.

Downtown Fortresses

Re your story "Drawing a Blank Downtown" [April 4], a city's personality and spirit are contained in its past. Its beauty is not in the purity and newness of its members but rather in the continuity of its history, which can only be seen through its older structures. If you eradicate that which relates to an urban center's past, such as its old buildings, you destroy its personality. A city like Rome is beautiful not for its efficiency or cleanliness but for its diversity. Spacious streets, blank walls and giant blocks of steel and concrete may make a pleasing design on paper, but in reality they create a desert of human expression.

Marcello Pense
Delray Beach, Fla.

No matter what the cities do, they will never get the crowds back until they open their street-level spaces to inviting displays, good merchandising, color and lights. America's downtowns need some kind of carnival atmosphere that will encourage people to shop, to seek entertainment, to see and be seen.

William T. Huebener
Charlotte, N.C.

Singing Thorn Birds

Because of your review of *The Thorn Birds* [March 28], I nearly missed four excellent nights of television. The acting was consistently strong and the story so intense that it created the authenticity that was necessary. *The Thorn Birds* brought back good taste to the entertainment industry.

(The Rev.) Raymond A. Ursin
Oakland, Md.

The movie was superb, the acting magnificent.

Mark Edward Lynch
Oak Lawn, Ill.

Your assessment of *The Thorn Birds* was superb. After watching the first three hours of the telecast, I am satisfied that the film should be renamed *The Turkey*.

John M. Murphy
Madison, Conn.

Search for Sex

Seeking therapy for not desiring sex [April 4] is about as sensible as joining Nonalcoholics Anonymous or going into

Letters

a drug nonabuse clinic. Why should a free person knock at the door of a cage and seek to enter it?

Jean Harmon
Silver Spring, Md.

According to your story "In Search of Sexual Drive," you have uncovered yet another general malaise that has hit the North American continent: inhibited sexual desire. If this condition could be bottled and exported to Asia, South America or wherever birth rates are rapidly rising, the U.S. could contribute to stemming the overpopulation problem, and everyone would be happy.

Peter K. New
University of Toronto Community Health
Toronto

Anthropological Dilemma (Contd.)

I am dismayed by the naiveté of some of your readers who wrote defending Steven Mosher, the Stanford anthropologist expelled for publishing photographs of forced abortions in rural China [April 4]. An anthropologist has a responsibility to the people he studies not to put them in a position where they can suffer physical harm for any information they have given him. When Mosher took no precautions in his article to protect the identities of the Chinese he interviewed, he showed an insensitivity to their welfare. The university was right to expel him. Well done, Stanford.

Richard Mack Jr.
Hollis, N.Y.

Your readers' letters in support of Steven Mosher were unfair. Americans always use their ethical standards to judge other cultures. Forced abortion is inhuman, but the native Chinese view of abortion is different from ours. As an anthropologist, Mosher should have known this. He got what he deserved.

Stan Siao
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Gorgeous Hunks

The "fantasy and glamour" of the muscles and brawn of the hunks on TV [April 4] grow dull. The charm, humor, sensitivity and style of Remington Steele (Pierce Brosman) stimulate!

Virginia Curlanis
Rocky River, Ohio

I still prefer genuine, warm and lovable-looking Hal Linden sauntering across my screen to any of the so-called hunks pictured in your article.

Kathleen Keutmann
Columbia, S.C.

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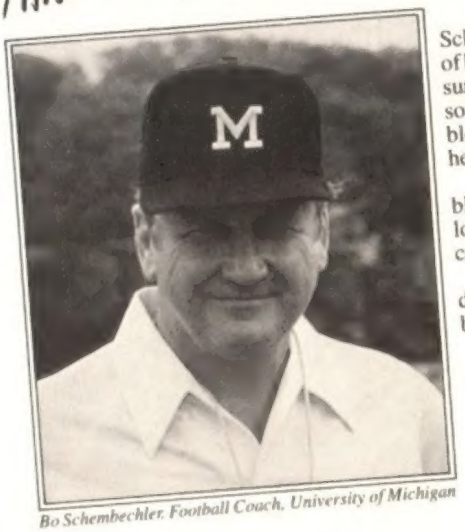

Bo Schembechler, Football Coach, University of Michigan

Not long ago, Coach Schembechler needed 5 units of blood during heart bypass surgery. And if it weren't for someone like you donating blood through Red Cross, he might not be here today.

Make sure enough blood will be there if you, a loved one, or anyone in your community ever needs it.

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American Red Cross

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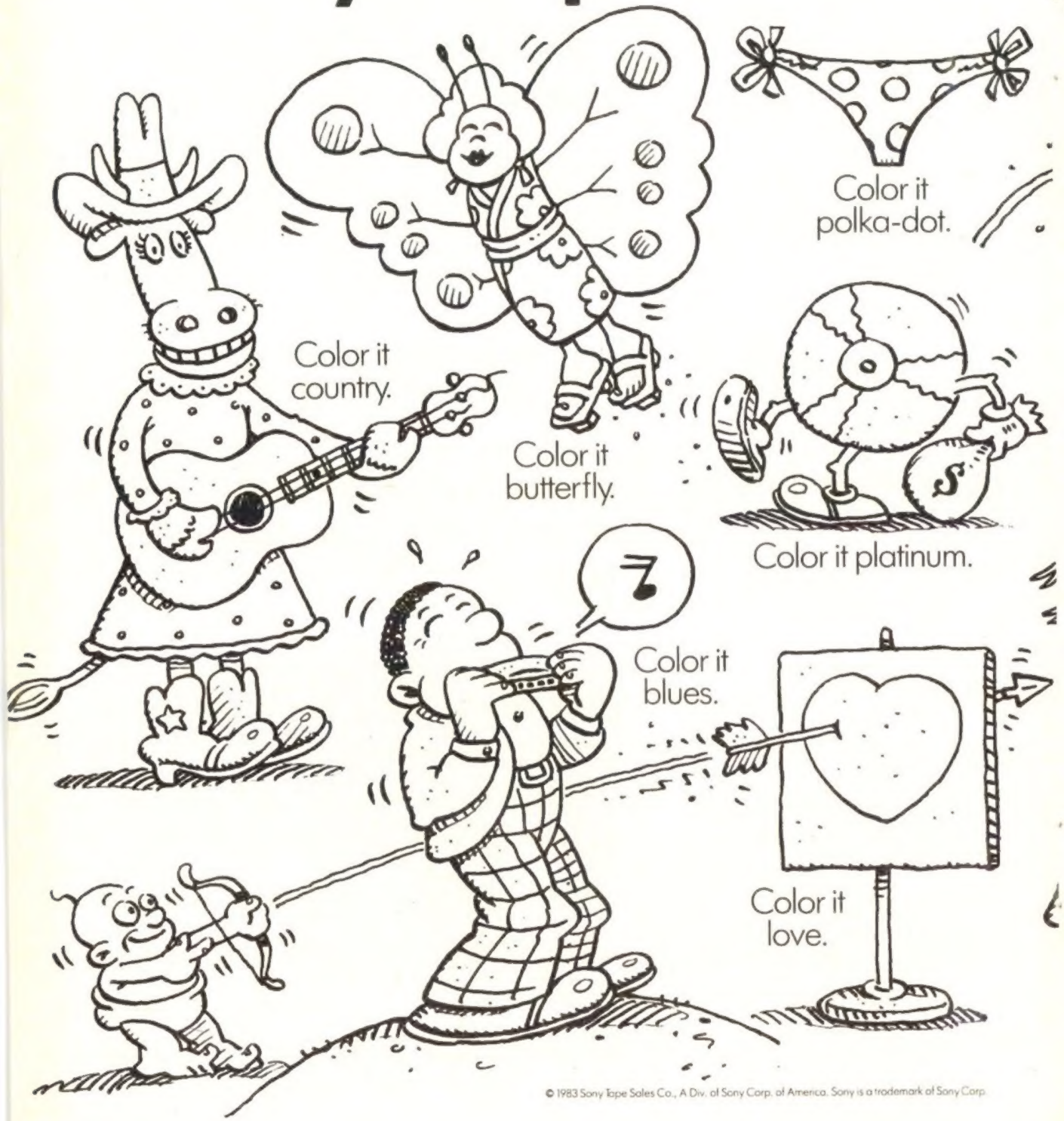

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The first black mayor of the nation's second largest city acknowledges the applause: "I want to reach out my hand in friendship and fellowship"

TIME APRIL 25, 1983

Picking Up the Pieces

After a bitter campaign, Harold Washington tries to heal a divided city

Even as they chanted and cheered into the night, the 15,000 excited supporters who crammed into cavernous Donnelley Hall on Chicago's South Side seemed to hold back their full emotions. There was a tentative chorus: "We want Harold!" Then a note of caution from someone in the crowd: "Let's get some damn figures. We may be partying too soon." An aide appeared at the podium around midnight to say the race was too close to call. Some wards were still missing. "If the man don't win, I'm going to hate white folks forever," growled a partisan. Finally the result began to sink in. Chicago, that bastion of segregated neighborhoods and brawling Democratic machinery, had elected a black as mayor. The chants began to mock the racially charged campaign slogan of the white Republican opponent: "We want Harold—before it's too late!"

When Harold Washington finally appeared to a thunderous ovation in the early hours of the morning, he knew that the task ahead was as daunting as the one just completed. He had beaten the incumbent. He had beaten the heir apparent to the legendary Daley machine. And now he had triumphed in one of the bitterest and most racially divisive political fights in recent American history. But his election had swung a wrecking ball into the political foundation of The City That Works, the patronage-fueled Democratic machine. So with soothing and inspiring words befitting the son of a preacher, he tried to bandage the wounds. "I want to reach out my hand in friendship and fellowship to every living soul in this city," he said. "I charge each and every one of you to rededicate your efforts to heal the divisions that have plagued us . . . Chicago is one city."

The city seemed to drop its broad shoulders in a sigh of relief as the racial tensions of the past seven weeks began to subside. A black newspaper, the *Chicago Defender*, had run a front-page warning the day before the vote that police were planning to make mass arrests of Washington supporters on the day of the election. But the balloting was remarkably free of chicanery, proceeding without significant fraud or intimidation. "Be cool, be cool, don't blow it," black radio stations urged their listeners as the results came in.

The day after the election, Washington was host at a unity luncheon. He was flanked by the two rivals he had defeated in the Democratic primary last February: Jane Byrne, the departing mayor, and Richard Daley, son of the legendary boss. Bernard Epton, last Tuesday's Republican loser, skulked off to Florida, leaving his brother to fill in at the lunch. Epton's lack of grace seemed to diminish rather than heighten the tensions: at that moment, it was hard to argue that the better man had lost.

For blacks nationwide, Washington's win was a symbol of the fruits of political participation. "This is the most significant black political movement since the Selma-to-Montgomery march" 18 years ago, said Civil Rights Leader Jesse Jackson. RIZZO IS NEXT read a banner at the victory celebration. Indeed, if Wilson Goode, now well ahead, beats former Mayor Frank Rizzo in next month's primary in Philadelphia and goes on to become mayor, the leaders of four of the nation's six largest cities will be black, an impressive buildup of political muscle.

The results in Chicago reflected the racial divisions evident in the campaign. Across the city, the turnout was a record almost 80% of those registered cast ballots. Washington carried many black

wards by more than 95% of the vote. In the 24th Ward on the heavily black West Side, for example, he tallied 24,259 votes to Epton's 129. He handily won all 19 of the city's black wards and took almost 60% of the Hispanic vote.

Conversely, the white ethnic wards, which have voted solidly Democratic since William ("Big Bill") Thompson was elected the last Republican mayor in 1927, went heavily for Epton. In the Polish-Irish-Russian 13th Ward on the Southwest Side, Epton took 34,856 votes to Washington's 1,457. Even the famed Eleventh Ward of Bridgeport, the bedrock Democratic base of the late Mayor Daley, voted overwhelmingly Republican. Holding the electoral balance were the city's six affluent "Lakefront Liberal" wards. Undecided until the very end, they finally gave Washington 40% of their vote, enough to assure his 51.8% majority.

During the final few days, Washington tried to capitalize on the growing revulsion, particularly in the Lakefront wards, with the squalid campaign. He took the offensive by publicly confronting baseless rumors that he had been arrested for child molesting. He also aired a powerful television ad that showed a series of violent scenes from America's past: a Ku Klux Klan rally, the assassinations of John Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., the Kent State shootings. It culminated with pictures of Epton supporters jeering Washington at a church on Palm Sunday. "There are moments in our history of which we are thoroughly and profoundly ashamed," said the narrator. "One of these moments may be happening in Chicago right now."

The hard-hitting ad, which was pulled off the air after only four showings, caused dissension within Washington's already fragmented campaign staff. But the candidate was unfazed. With rising adrenaline, he spent 16-hr. days stumping in white, black and Hispanic areas, assailing the "greed merchants" who feed off the city's patronage trough. Through it all he remained upbeat. What had he learned about himself? "I have infinitely more patience than I thought I did."

Epton continued his attacks on Washington's dubious financial past, charging that his conviction in 1972 for failure to file tax returns and the suspension of his law license for professional malfeasance represented "documented evidence of a long and disturbing pattern of behavior." Despite Epton's distinguished record of opposing racial prejudice, he continued to strike chords designed to appeal to fearful white voters. "Nothing will be done in this city without the consent of the neighborhoods involved!" he shouted in one ethnic area.

But at the end of the campaign, Epton seemed beaten down by the pressure. "He conked out at the end," said Political Analyst Milton Rakove of the University of Illinois. Epton testily withdrew from one national television interview on Sunday, claiming that one of the panelists was biased against him, and insisted on being in a separate studio from Washington during another broadcast. "He thinks he's in South Africa," chided Washington. On election night Epton raged to a television interviewer that some Chicago reporters were "slime, beneath contempt." He was particularly bitter that blacks, who always backed him for the state legislature, had turned against him in the mayor's race. "I will certainly save a lot of money in the future on charitable causes," he said. When he stalked from his suite without delivering a concession speech to supporters gathered in the ballroom below, one woman was prompted to proclaim, "Now I know why I don't like Republicans."

A grim Epton on election night

The Democratic machine was wobbly after the traumatic campaign. "It's been declining for ten years," said Chicago Political Consultant Don Rose, "but this is the most devastating blow." Eight of its 50 ward leaders actually endorsed Republican Epton. Many others who remained officially neutral ended up working against the party nominee, including Alderman Edward Burke, a ward leader on the Southwest Side. He spoke of the feelings of his white ethnic constituents: "They're afraid of what might happen, and that fear is not unrealistic."

On election day, one of Burke's precinct captains greeted voters in Polish, but the final word of his lecture was clear in any language: "Epton." Urging people to vote Republican "is a big nut to swallow," the precinct worker explained, "but I've lived in this neighborhood 76 years, and we don't want it to change." Race was clearly the overriding concern. "The whites should be with the whites and the blacks with the blacks," said another precinct captain.

In addition to the mayoral debacle, the machine lost control of seven seats on the 50-member city council. Washington predicted that the organization would now "drift off into the woods and die." Yet the machine has shown remarkable resilience in the past, rising from defeat to wheel and deal again. Washington has only 20 sure supporters on the powerful city council, six short of a working majority. "He will probably have to cut a deal with at least part of the organization," says Rakove.

Indeed, despite his longstanding disdain for Boss Daley's lockstep army, Washington stressed that building coalitions has always been his political style. "I reach out to people," he said last week. "There will be no exclusions." He has already shown that he can seek accommodation with the city's conservative business elite by placing many corporate leaders on his transition team. "When the dust settles, Chicago's standing will not be impaired," promises James O'Connor, chairman of Commonwealth Edison and co-chairman of the transition group.

To govern effectively, Washington must mend fences with the city bureaucracy, which is composed mostly of machine loyalists. He will also have to make peace with the police department; many officers openly worked for Epton and the chief, under bitter attack from Washington, announced his resignation a week before the election. By declar-

Celebrating on the streets of Chicago after the narrow victory

"Be cool, be cool, don't blow it," the radio stations urged.

ing during the campaign that taxes would have to be increased, Washington has allowed himself room to tackle Chicago's growing financial problems, that is if he can get the necessary support from the city council. For all his talk of conciliation, the mayor-elect quickly served notice that the concerns of his black constituents would not be neglected. He announced plans to push for the construction of low-income housing, a bugbear in the city's white neighborhoods.

BLACK MAYORS of cities over 200,000

	Mayor	Population in thousands	% Black
CHICAGO	HAROLD WASHINGTON	3,005	40%
LOS ANGELES	TOM BRADLEY	2,969	17%
DETROIT	COLEMAN YOUNG	1,203	63%
WASH., D.C.	MARION BARRY	638	70%
NEW ORLEANS	ERNEST MORIAL	558	55%
ATLANTA	ANDREW YOUNG	425	67%
OAKLAND	LIONEL WILSON	339	47%
NEWARK	KENNETH GIBSON	329	58%
BIRMINGHAM	RICHARD ARRINGTON	284	56%
RICHMOND	ROY WEST	219	51%

TIME Chart by Hugh Holmes

Washington's win had important implications for the relations between blacks and the national Democratic Party. His candidacy represented the growing desire of blacks to share more of the power in the party that they have loyally supported for the past 50 years. Washington made the point when he announced his candidacy last November: "We've been giving white candidates our votes for years and years and years unstintingly, hoping they would include us in the process. Now it's come to the point where we say, 'Well, it's our turn, it's our turn.' " Jesse Jackson said the same thing more vividly after Washington's victory. "Blacks are like the Harlem Globetrotters in the Democratic Party," he told a press conference. "We provide the excitement, the soul, the margin of victory. But all the proprietors in the other room are white. That arrangement must change."

Jackson has been promoting the idea that a black should seek the Democratic nomination in 1984. (He seems to have himself in mind.) Although a black would stand virtually no chance of getting the nomination next year, Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher argues that "winning is not the only reason to run." A working paper by the Joint Center for Political Studies, a black-run think tank in Washington, cites several advantages: giving prominence to issues of concern to blacks, increasing black voter registration and providing a bloc of delegates that could play an important role at the Democratic convention.

But the paper notes the disadvantages of a black candidacy. It could draw support from viable liberal candidates sympathetic to blacks, intensify racial polarization among voters and even lead to an embarrassingly small show of strength. For these reasons, many black leaders, including Mayors Andrew Young of Atlanta and Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, oppose the idea. The election of Washington, many argue, worked to mitigate the need to challenge the Democratic Party power structure.

For Washington, who will be sworn in next week, the national implications of his victory are far less important than the local ones. Whatever influence he may hope to have beyond the city—and whatever effect his election may have for black political power—will depend on whether he is able to fill the potholes and calm the fears of Chicago's prickly neighborhoods. —*By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Christopher Ogden and Don Winbush/Chicago*

Going the Distance

At 13, Harold Washington was already savvy about the byzantine world of Chicago politics: he worked with his father, a Democratic precinct captain, organizing voters on the South Side. He also received an early education in the rigors of competition. While at Du Sable High School, he won the city championship in the 120-yd. high hurdles. At the Civilian Conservation Corps camps, he became a no-nonsense amateur middleweight boxer who won 50 of 60 fights, 15 by knockout. Laughs the mayor-elect today: "I'm a pretty good bare-knuckles fighter too."

Now 61, Washington chain-smokes Kools and, except for an occasional jog, fencing match or pool game, prefers being a spectator. But, with 215 lbs. packed solidly on a 5-ft. 10-in. frame, he wore out bodyguards 25 years his junior during the campaign, getting by on five hours' sleep a night. The schedule was typical of the Congressman, an amiable but intensely private man. His modest Hyde Park apartment in Chicago is strewn with newspapers and books. He rarely indulges in vacations and avoids the social scene in Washington.

Sloppy about his personal finances, with a careless disdain for paying bills and taxes that hurt him during the campaign (and cost him a month in jail in 1972), Washington has not profited financially from a lifetime of politics. His first marriage, to his high school sweetheart, ended in divorce in 1955 after ten years and no children; he is now engaged to Mary Ella Smith, a Chicago teacher he has known for 20 years.

Class of '52, Northwestern Law

Few politicians are as much a product of their cities as Washington is. Both his grandfather and father were Methodist ministers there. After his parents were divorced, Harold, the youngest of four children in a family in which there were also six stepchildren, was raised by his father Roy, who was a lawyer as well as a minister, and a Democrat in an era when most blacks were Lincoln Republicans. During World War II, Harold did a three-year stint in the Army Air Corps and emerged with sergeant's stripes. He attended Roosevelt College on the G.I. Bill and, though one of only some 20 blacks among 400 seniors, was voted president of his class. He graduated from Northwestern Law School in 1952. When his father died the following year, Harold inherited his law practice and stake in the party organization.

Washington served in the state legislature for 16 years until he was elected to Congress in 1980 from Illinois' First District. He had run for mayor in 1977, but was embarrassed when black voters stuck with the Democratic machine candidate, Michael Bilandic, and he netted only 11% of the vote. After his loss, he denounced Bilandic as a "third-rate Boss Daley" and drew the wrath of the machine.

In his efforts to dismantle the machine, and in other challenges ahead, Washington says that his father will be his role model. "For many years he was not only my father, but my mother too. Every night he came home, put his feet under the table and had dinner with me. He was a good man, hard as nails and soft as butter, depending on the circumstances."

"We're in a Trough"

Reagan wins the Adelman vote but loses ground elsewhere

For a moment the scene was reminiscent of the heady days of 1981, when White House arm twisting won vote after vote in Congress by unexpectedly wide margins. There was Ronald Reagan grinning before the cameras again, this time at a quickie news conference called to celebrate the Senate's confirmation of Kenneth Adelman, 36, as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency by a vote of 57 to 42. Said the President: "I am deeply gratified."

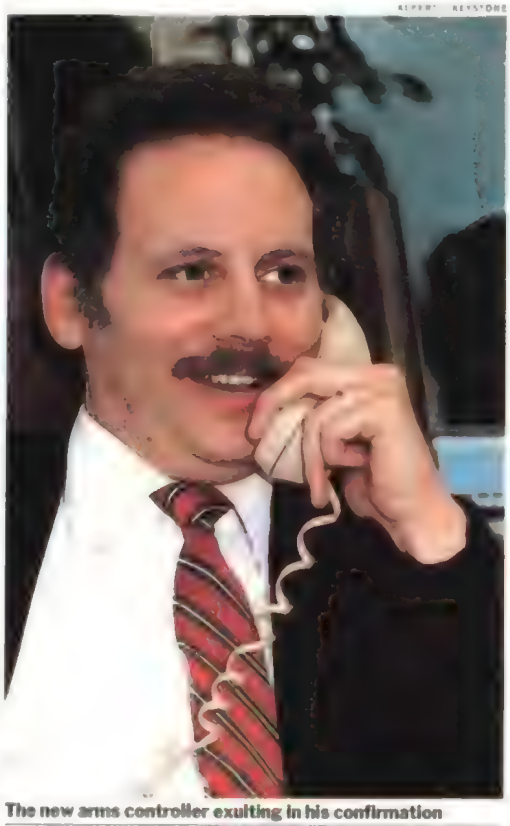
But the illusion of triumph lasted for only the two minutes or so that Reagan required to read his opening statement and begin taking questions. Reporters peppered him with queries about congressional charges that the Administration is violating U.S. law by trying to overthrow the Marxist-led government of Nicaragua. "We are complying with the law," said Reagan. Indeed, the President insisted that CIA aid to antigovernment guerrillas known as *contras* "is aimed at interdicting these supply lines" through which arms flow from Nicaragua to leftist rebels in El Salvador.

The apparent sincerity of the President's statement notwithstanding, many legislators simply do not believe him. Last week congressional committees moved to shut off all aid to the *contras*, despite Reagan's protest at the news conference that "any legislation which confines our relationship with a single country . . . is restrictive on the obligation that the Constitution imposes on the President" to conduct foreign policy.

Moreover, the Capitol Hill revolt against his Central American strategy was only one of the foreign policy setbacks that Reagan suffered last week. Though the President voiced hope that the confirmation of Adelman "will mark the beginning of a new bipartisan consensus on the vital issue of nuclear arms reduction," test votes in the House pointed to passage this week of a nuclear-freeze resolution that the White House vehemently opposes. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, visiting his fellow conservative in the White House at week's end, brought another unwelcome message: when Reagan plays host to the nation's closest allies at a summit meeting in Williamsburg, Va., next month, he will find them unwilling to go along with any plea for much tighter curbs on trade with the Soviet bloc.

All this came on top of the stunning blow that King Hussein of Jordan dealt to Reagan's Middle East peace initiative by declining to enter talks with Israel on the future of the West Bank (*see* WORLD). Said Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese, with heavy understatement: "Some weeks are better than others." One foreign policy planner put the point more bluntly: "We're in a trough."

Against this troubling background, the confirmation of Adelman was especially welcome to the Administration because it demonstrated that the President and his aides retain the persuasive powers that have been little in evidence on other issues. Though Senators generally found Adelman bright and personally attractive, many viewed the nomination of someone so young and inexperienced in the intricacies of weapons negotiations as a signal that the Administration has no real intention of reaching arms-control agreements with the Soviets.



The new arms controller exulting in his confirmation

Said a foe, "Reagan and 'Ma Bell' " swung the vote.

In fact, on the eve of the ballot, Adelman was widely expected to be confirmed by only three or four votes. Massachusetts Democrat Paul Tsongas, a leader of the anti-Adelman forces, explained the eventual 15-vote margin this way: "We lost to President Reagan and 'Ma Bell.' " He referred to a barrage of last-minute phone calls to undecided Senators: from the President, who personally telephoned eight waverers; from several other top Government officials past and present; and from the mustachioed nominee himself. Even so, Adelman is only the seventh presidential nominee in the past 24 years to have 40 or more Senate votes cast against him. The White House won his confirmation primarily by appealing to the powerful Senate tradition of letting any President have the aides he chooses. It did not allay the apprehension that the Administration is not wholly serious about arms control.

That fear is precisely the driving force behind the nuclear-freeze resolution, which last week easily survived attempts by Administration supporters to attach watering-down amendments. Two key ones lost in the House last week by votes of 219 to 195 and 229 to 190. On this issue, Administration lobbying has been as blundering as it was deft on the Adelman confirmation. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger argued the White House case last week to 25 House Democrats, but succeeded only in angering them by referring to the freeze as "unilateral"; the language of the resolution explicitly states that it must be negotiated to be mutually binding on the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The freeze, however, is a dubious idea that is likely to be rejected by the Republican-controlled Senate, and in any case would be binding on Reagan only if he signed the resolution—which is about as likely as his announcing himself to be once again a liberal Democrat. The growing Capitol Hill revolt against U.S. activities in Central America holds far greater potential for forcing a real change in foreign policy.

At his news conference, Reagan in effect confirmed what had become public knowledge: that the U.S. is aiding the Nicaraguan *contras*, perhaps 2,000 of whom have infiltrated across the border from bases in neighboring Honduras. But he echoed an argument made by other Administration officials to congressional committees: the *contras*, though they proclaim that their intention is to bring down Nicaragua's Sandinista government, cannot possibly prevail against the far more numerous and better-armed Sandinista troops. Thus, Reagan insisted, the U.S. is not violating the Boland Amendment, which forbids aid "for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Nicaragua."

The amendment's author, Massachusetts Democratic Congressman Edward Boland, termed this argument "splitting hairs," and a swelling chorus of congressional voices denounced the Administration's course as both illegal and bad policy. Iowa Republican Congressman Jim Leach criticized the Administration for doing to Nicaragua precisely what it condemns the Sandinistas for doing to El Salvador, that is, supporting an armed insurrection. Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd of Connecticut, noting that the *contras* reportedly include many supporters of Anastasio Somoza Debayle, the hated dictator ousted by the Sandinistas in 1979, asserted: "If there is one thing [Nicaraguans] fear more than the Sandinistas,

it's a return of the old Somoza forces."

Most of all, many legislators fear that Washington aid to counter a leftist revolt in El Salvador and favor an antileftist rebellion in Nicaragua will bog down all of Central America in an endless guerrilla war in which the U.S. will become ever more deeply involved. A House subcommittee voted last week to limit military aid to the government of El Salvador to $50 million in each of the next two fiscal years, less than half of what Reagan has proposed, and to forbid aid "directly or indirectly" supporting the Nicaraguan *contras* unless Congress specifically approves it. Colorado Democrat Gary Hart, an avowed presidential candidate, introduced a similar resolution concerning Nicaragua in the Senate. Administration strategists hope to prevail in floor votes in both houses by stressing that the U.S. must do everything it can to prevent the spread of Marxism in Central America. But the outcome is uncertain.

Ordinarily, a visit from Chancellor Kohl (*see* WORLD) would be a welcome distraction from these woes. Reagan once asserted that "we speak the same language" (which is true as a political metaphor but not as a literal fact: Kohl speaks no English). But on this visit Kohl indicated that, if Reagan presses allied heads of government at Williamsburg to put new restrictions on East-West trade, he will accomplish no more than he did when he raised the issue at last year's economic summit in Versailles. At that conference the U.S. proposals caused a deep split that was papered over by a meaningless compromise. Other German officials spelled out the reason for Kohl's stand, contending that European allies have enough trouble trying to persuade their constituents to accept the stationing of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Said West German Economics Minister Otto Lambsdorff, just before the Kohl visit: "It would certainly not be wise of [Reagan] to put strains on East-West trade on top of the problems of the missile decision."

Boland

Part of Reagan's manifold troubles in foreign policy trace to the inept salesmanship of his strategies by such officials as Weinberger and National Security Adviser William Clark, a failure that the Administration has only begun to reverse in its successful campaign for Adelman's confirmation. But the problems also reflect a deep public unease, in the U.S. and abroad, that the substance of policy is too stridently hard-line. That worry may or may not be justified. It cannot be ignored. —*By George J. Church.*

Reported by Christopher Redman and Evan Thomas/Washington

Panel Chairman Brent Scowcroft, center, flanked by Harold Brown, left, and Alexander Haig

MX: A New Look and a New Math

A commission proposes a two-phase plan for land missiles

After three months of deliberations that included 28 full meetings and consultations with hundreds of experts, the eleven-member Commission on Strategic Forces brought forth its 26-page final report last week. There were few surprises. The blue-ribbon panel, appointed last January by President Reagan as a last-ditch attempt to find a home for the orphan MX missile, recommended the prompt deployment of 100 MX missiles in existing Minuteman silos and research on silo "hardening." For the long term, the panel proposed the development of an unspecified number of smaller (15-ton) single-warhead missiles with a range, like the MX's, of 8,000 miles.

The report argued that the highly accurate, nearly 100-ton MX, with ten warheads, is needed immediately to "remove the Soviet advantage in ICBM [intercontinental ballistic missile] capability" and goad Russia into serious arms-reduction negotiations. For the 1990s, however, the so-called Midgetman missile must be developed because, with one warhead to the MX's ten, it would make a less tempting target to the Soviets.

To enhance the two-phase plan on Capitol Hill and limit warhead totals, the commission wedded missile deployment to arms control. "The land-based ICBM cannot be preserved without arms control," said Commission Member John Deutch of M.I.T. "This was our truly unanimous view." However, the shift back to single-warhead missiles scrambles the prevailing mathematics of arms control. With this in mind, the commission recommended a different method of calculating strategic threats: counting the number of warheads and their size rather than the number of missiles possessed by each side. While the new math won prepublication plaudits from Pentagon officials, it could further complicate the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) in Geneva.

The commission also had a creative response to the issue of missile vulnerability. In his 1980 campaign for the presidency, Ronald Reagan warned that a "window of vulnerability" hung over U.S. missile silos, opening them to a pre-emptive first-strike attack by the Soviet Union. So strong were his admonitions that Congress in the past 18 months has rejected two Administration-backed basing modes for the beleaguered MX because they did not solve that problem. The commission's approach: redefine the concept. While admitting that survivability of fixed targets, such as MX missile silos, "may not outlast this century," the panel argued that the triad of bombers plus land- and sea-based strategic weapons, "assessed collectively and not in isolation," guarantees deterrence.

At $19.9 billion, the plan's five-year price tag is $3 billion less than that of the Administration's dense pack proposal, defeated last December. And, like the recently enacted Social Security–reform package, the recommendations represent a bipartisan political compromise. But the proposed solution still faces problems on Capitol Hill. The commission has argued that the combination of recommendations is a seamless package, but an effort in Congress to jettison the MX and vote only on the Midgetman seems likely. "Few, if any, will consider our recommendations an optimal solution," summed up retired Air Force Lieut. General Brent Scowcroft, the panel's chairman. "If such were available, this commission probably would not have been convened." ■

The Man Without an Agenda

Adviser Clark grows in influence, but influence for what?

For as long as he has worked with Ronald Reagan, William Patrick Clark has had the job of troubleshooter. In 1967, when Reagan was Governor of California, he appointed Clark his chief of staff during an early crisis; thereafter Clark kept the Governor's office meticulously organized. In 1981, as Deputy Secretary of State, Clark worked to smooth Secretary of State Alexander Haig's high-strung relations with the White House. Finally, when Clark replaced Richard Allen as Reagan's National Security Adviser in January of last year, the common reaction in Washington was relief: a bland but efficient mediator had been brought in to straighten out a floundering operation. The staff was demoralized, and Allen was paralyzed by charges that he had improperly accepted gifts from Japanese acquaintances.

More than a year later Clark seems to have created more troubles. The Administration faces growing difficulties with Central America, the Middle East and Peking, and major political problems with U.S. allies in Europe and Congressmen on the Hill. Clark's job is to help devise solutions, but he has become, in many eyes, part of the problem. Instead of shaping or refining the President's raw, conservative instincts, Clark seems determined to let Reagan be Reagan, regardless of the fallout. Clark exercises as much influence as anyone in the Administration over military and foreign policy decisions.

The question is to what coherent purpose that new influence is being put. Clark says he is simply an expediter and administrator, in charge of coordinating national security advice coming in from Foggy Bottom, the Pentagon, the CIA and his own National Security Council (NSC) staff. Indeed, the former (Reagan-appointed) California Supreme Court justice most prides himself on his manifest neutrality and fairness. "I think I've been able to do what I tried to do, and that is act like a judge," Clark says. "I try to run meetings like my old courtroom, giving no opinions myself unless specifically requested."

In contrast with intellectually forceful predecessors like Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, Clark does not operate a rump State Department in the White House basement. "I don't have my own agenda separate from the President's," says the soft-spoken aide. He has consolidated his authority by bringing a surface placidity and orderliness to the NSC office. Memos flow smoothly.

But Clark has no training in the substance of the memos. Indeed, he seems to be, in the uncomplimentary phrase of one White House aide, "content-free." He is conservative, but his ideological inclinations are visceral and seldom fine-tuned. Clark, a close friend of Reagan's, mainly seems to reinforce the President's rightward tendencies. On those rare occasions when he does come down hard on one side of an issue, Clark seems too emphatic, as if he seeks to be decisive for the sake of decisiveness. Says a senior State Department official: "He makes decisions that only he thinks have been fully thought out."

Critics point to Clark's ill-advised support for an embargo against West European suppliers of parts for the Soviets' natural gas pipeline. (NATO allies flouted the embargo, and, last fall, Reagan was obliged to drop it.) Clark took over the Administration's El Salvador policy, and the resulting harder line has produced a backlash in Congress. He has generally backed Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's resistance to budget cuts, even when it was clear that Congress would insist on trims. Clark is getting much of the blame for the politically costly skirmishing over Kenneth Adelman's nomination as arms-control chief; he was Adelman's main sponsor. And last month Clark encouraged Reagan to make his star wars missile-defense speech, despite the worries of other Reagan aides that it would reinforce the President's reputation for hawkish loose talk.

Clark has maintained generally cordial relations with the Secretaries of State and Defense. Indeed, he regards his good pal Weinberger practically as a client. Once each month or so, ostensibly to clear the air of tensions, he and Secretary of State George Shultz, accompanied by one aide each, hold a two-hour rap session. Yet that has not stopped the widening rift between the two.

Despite his much professed loyalty to the President and to "team play," Clark has lately run up against the major powers on Reagan's staff. In encouraging the President to speak his angry mind about El Salvador and the nuclear-freeze movement, Clark pointedly prevailed over White House Chief of Staff James Baker and others whom Clark in private dismisses as "civilians" and "political types." In January, Clark interceded against a White House reorganization that would have diminished the role of Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese. This strained Clark's relations with Deputy Chief of Staff Michael Deaver, who was the architect of the plan. Then in February, Clark tried to oust Press Spokesman David Gergen. "The tension around here is unbelievable," says one White House aide.

Tension between National Security Advisers and other ranking aides is not unique to Reagan's team. The larger problem is that the NSC is now headed by an amateur who, despite his managerial skill, reflects no real policy perspective beyond a rudimentary anti-Communism.

Policymaking has been further hindered by Secretary of State Shultz's reluctance to make waves or weigh in on difficult issues like arms control. Complains Maryland Republican Senator Charles Mathias: "There is too little depth and experience in foreign policy. Reagan hasn't any, Weinberger hasn't any, Clark hasn't any." In other Administrations, packed with scrappy egos, a strong, silent type at the head of the NSC might have fitted in well. But for this Administration, clearly, there is a need for someone at Clark's position who can bring prudence and substantive experience as well as order to the task. —*By Kurt Andersen. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington*

National Security Adviser William Clark in conference with the President last week

An expediter and coordinator with ideological inclinations that are often visceral

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

When Peace Is the Message

Kennedy at American University in 1963

"It is sad to read these Soviet statements. But it is also a warning to the American people . . . not to see conflict as inevitable, accommodation as impossible, and communication as nothing more than an exchange of threats."

Those graceful and profound words were delivered 20 years ago on a muggy June morning at American University. John Kennedy's Inaugural Address and Berlin speech are best known to the public. But when Ted Sorensen, J.F.K.'s chief wordsmith, is asked which Kennedy talk was the greatest, he says with no hesitation, "The American University speech."

It had Kennedy's usual eloquence ("I speak of peace because of the new face of war"), and it also contained the most important message of his presidency. "We are not here distributing blame or pointing the finger of judgment," said Kennedy. "We must deal with the world as it is, and not as it might have been had the history of the last 18 years been different." He asked the American people to re-examine their attitudes toward the Soviet Union. He set the U.S. Government on a course of creative and conciliatory diplomacy. To show his good faith he announced the end of this nation's nuclear tests in the atmosphere. From the words and thoughts of that speech flowed the test ban treaty, a prohibition on nuclear weapons in outer space, the first grain sale to the Soviets, and the first nuclear arms limitation agreement. The latter, ironically, occurred during the term of his old rival Richard Nixon.

The spirit of the American University speech is now emaciated and gasping, uncomprehended and ignored in both the Kremlin and the White House. But, as in Kennedy's day, the burden for action may again lie with the U.S. because, as he put it, "peace and freedom walk together."

If it is just to fault Ronald Reagan's detractors for having a vested interest in the failure of his policies, then it is equally just to question whether Reagan has developed a vested interest in the theatrics of threat. "Peace is a process—a way of solving problems," Kennedy told us back then. "Let us focus not on a sudden revolution in human nature but on a gradual evolution in human institutions . . . No government or social system is so evil that its people must be considered as lacking in virtue."

Point by point, with compelling logic and grace, that old text refutes Reagan's contention that ultimate evil resides in the Soviet Union and that comfort can be found only if we build up our arsenals. Said Kennedy: "Not a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave."

The American University speech arose from a simple but wise impulse. "If we cannot end now our differences," he said, "at least we can help make the world safe for diversity." Kennedy had reason to hate and distrust, having just come through the Cuban missile crisis, in which the Soviets lied, tricked, cheated and bullied. Yet his experience brought forbearance and long nights of thought. There must be a better way, he told Sorensen.

Kennedy was in Hawaii when the American University draft was finished. Sorensen flew out, and the two polished it, flew back through a Sunday night, landing in Washington at dawn on Monday. Kennedy stopped at the White House to shower and change clothes. Before a few hundred people he spoke his words for our time: "I realize that the pursuit of peace is not as dramatic as the pursuit of war—and frequently the words of the pursuer fall on deaf ears. But we have no more urgent task."

Deal Making

Twists in the Teamsters' case

It was, said the Government's chief prosecutor Douglas Roller, "a day of reckoning." Hours before he was to report to a federal prison hospital in Springfield, Mo., Roy L. Williams agreed to resign from the presidency of the 1.9 million-member Teamsters Union in exchange for remaining free on bail while he appeals his case. He was convicted in December for conspiring with four other defendants to bribe Senator Howard W. Cannon of Nevada in 1979.

Williams, 68, who suffers from emphysema, made the agreement from his bed in Kansas City's Park Lane Medical Center. "He is convinced that in his condition he is not going to survive incarceration," Defense Attorney Raymond G. Larroca told Chicago's U.S. district court judge Prentice H. Marshall, who acted after Larroca assured him the union leader would submit his written resignation this week and not interfere in future Teamsters affairs.

Meanwhile, lawyers for Amos Massa and Thomas O'Malley, two of Williams' convicted co-defendants and former Teamsters' pension fund trustees, submitted an affidavit from former FBI Agent H. Edward Tickel, a 14-year bureau veteran and surreptitious-entry expert, to support their claim that some of the evidence in the conspiracy case was obtained illegally. Tickel, 42, alleges that he made three "black bag" break-ins into the Chicago offices of Co-Defendant Allen Dorfman in late 1978 or early 1979, before the FBI had obtained court approval to conduct telephone tapping and bugging.

T. MIKE FLETCHER

Williams

Dorfman, a millionaire insurance executive and longtime Teamsters associate, was gunned down in a gangland-style slaying Jan. 20. Tickel also maintains that he entered Williams' hotel suite at the Chicago Sheraton-O'Hare in late 1979 without court approval, to check out likely spots for hidden cameras and microphones. Tickel says that he was under the false impression that all of these entries were properly authorized.

The FBI fired Tickel in 1982 after he was indicted for a range of crimes, including trafficking in stolen jewelry and tax evasion, charges for which he was convicted last month. At his trials, Tickel charged that he informed FBI Director William Webster about his illegal entries in November 1980, but Webster disputed Tickel's accounts. Since then, the FBI has had no comment on any aspect of the affair. The allegations nonetheless inspired attorneys for O'Malley, Massa and Williams to file motions for a new trial. ■

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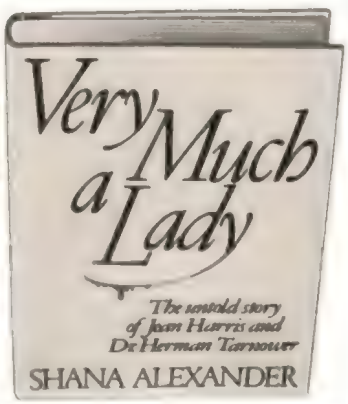
"If the judge, the jurors, or even Mrs. Harris's lawyer had learned as much about the case as Alexander tells us, Jean Harris would not be in jail today."—William A. Nolen, M.D., author of *The Making of a Surgeon*



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State of Siege

Unemployment hits 21%

In the West Virginia hollow of Gary, the silence hangs like a thick fog. "Used to be early in the morning, I would be real busy, men stopping in to get their lunch," said Constance Stepney, a cashier at the Bantam combination grocery store and gas station. "Now it's a real ghost town. You don't see no trains. You don't see the men coming in and going to work 'cause nobody's working."

In this southwestern Appalachian mining town of 3,500, nine out of ten adult residents are out of work, making it one of the hardest-hit areas in the hardest-hit state in the country. Mining industry layoffs have pushed unemployment in West Virginia to 21%, up eight percentage points in the past year and the highest rate for any state in the nation.

As some other states are slowly climbing out of the grueling two-year recession, West Virginia seems to be sinking deeper. Many of the industries most debilitated by the nation's economic woes—coal, electric power, steel, primary metals and chemicals—form the basis for the state's economy. Unlike other industrial states such as Michigan and Ohio, West Virginia has made little effort to diversify and retool its economy by luring high-tech businesses. "Usually West Virginia begins to recover about six months after the nation," says Arnold Margolin, the state's chief economist. "But there's an old saying, 'When the nation catches a cold, West Virginia catches pneumonia.' "

In the state capital of Charleston, Democratic Governor Jay Rockefeller had proposed a modest jobs program to the state legislature, which the lawmakers, unable to reach an agreement on, tabled before they recessed in mid-March. And he is earmarking $10 million, which he saved by slashing pork-barrel projects from the state budget, for jobs. Such action would come none too soon for towns like Gary that are hanging on by a string of hope. Nearly half of Gary's municipal employees have been laid off and the rest have been reduced to four-day work weeks.

A year ago, Constance Stepney's husband Roosevelt, 47, was making $85 a day as a dumper at one of U.S. Steel Corp.'s five local coal mines, confidently dubbed "the billion-dollar mine." But then U.S. Steel closed all the mines down. Now Roosevelt hangs around the house doing odd jobs and collects $188 a week in unemployment compensation to add to his wife's $112 weekly paycheck from her cashier's job. With a 13-year-old son, they are barely scraping along, fearful that the unemployment benefits may soon be exhausted. But Mrs. Stepney considers herself one of the lucky ones. "I have a job," she says simply. "I thank the Lord every day that I've been spared." ■

Former concentration camp inmates display their tattooed numbers: "A special obligation"

Forty Years After Warsaw

In Washington, Holocaust survivors gather and remember

Betty Wygodska, 61, stood impatiently in line as she waited her turn at the microphone on the small stage in the middle of the capital's cavernous Convention Center. A babel of Polish, German, Hungarian and heavily accented English surrounded her as hundreds of middle-aged and elderly men and women milled about the hall. Finally, when she got her chance to speak, she simply announced her name and then, to identify herself further, rattled off nervously the names of the three Nazi concentration camps she was sent to after the Gestapo arrested her in 1943 in Warsaw.

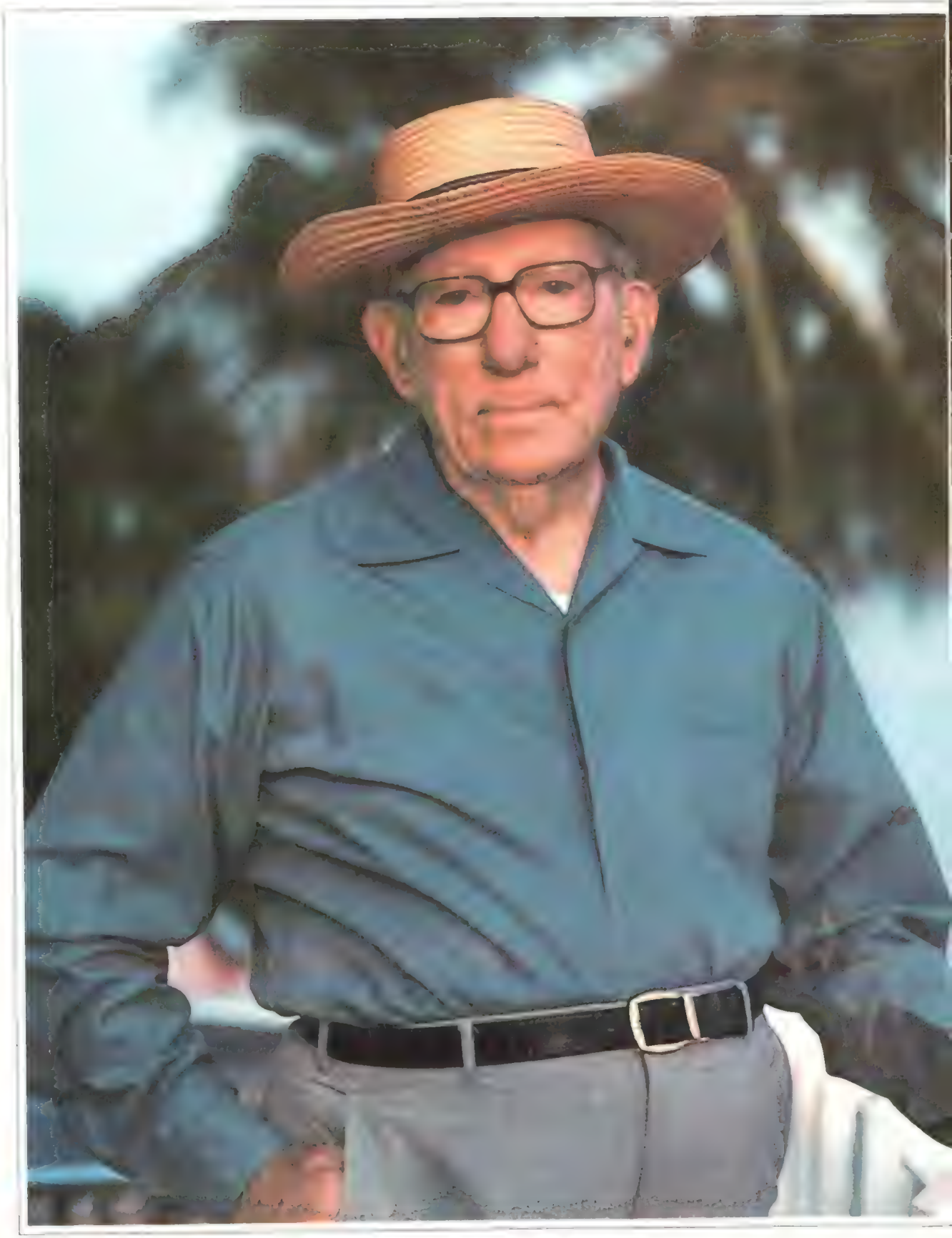
Suddenly, as Wygodska stepped away from the microphone, a plump, blond woman began elbowing her way up onto the stage and touched her shoulder. Wygodska turned and the two women shrieked with joy, embracing in recognition as tears streamed down their faces. It was the first time since the day of liberation in May 1945 that Wygodska had seen Zosia Piekorska, 55, one of her closest friends during the two years they spent together in concentration camps in Poland. Recalled Piekorska, now from Richmond, Va.: "We suffered together, we were hungry together. We were hoping together." Said Wygodska, now from New York City: "We came out barely alive. And now look at us. They say a cat has nine lives, but a human being has more than one life too."

It was a scene to be enacted again and again last week. Scores of other survivors renewed memories and acquaintances during the three-day American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Washington. An area called "survivors village" was cordoned off in the convention building as a rendezvous center. Notes with names, towns and concentration camps were tacked on bulletin boards. A computer sorted out names and dates to allow survivors to make identifications and connections. And people even wore personalized T shirts and signs like SUSSKIND FROM RZESZOW, POLAND in an effort to make contact with long-lost friends or relatives.

Scheduled 40 years after the Warsaw ghetto uprising—and a follow-up to the first world gathering of some 4,000 survivors and their children in Israel two years ago—the Washington meeting attracted some 12,000 American and Canadian survivors. Last week's meeting also marked the creation of a U.S. Holocaust memorial museum that will be financed by a $75 million fund-raising drive. The Government has donated two buildings near the Mall that will serve as the museum's center.

The aging survivors at the meeting felt an urgent responsibility to keep the memory of their horrors alive by educating the younger generation about the Holocaust. Says Menachem Rosensaft, 34, chairman of the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors: "As the children of survivors, we have a special obligation to make sure this doesn't happen again. And one thing is clear: having happened, it can happen again."

In his speech to the survivors, President Reagan spoke directly to that fear: "As President of a people you are now so much a part of, I promise you that the security of your safe havens, here and in Israel, will never be compromised." Some in the audience wept at the President's words, just as they shed tears about the past during the week's formal ceremonies and fervent informal reunions. Said Author Elie Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council: "The survivors wanted to meet to prove they are alive." ■



COVER STORY

Champion of The Elderly

At 82, Claude Pepper is at the peak of his career

"There are only two Democrats who really bug Reagan," says a presidential aide. "One is Tip O'Neill, and the other is that Congressman who keeps talking about Social Security."

That Congressman watches the world through trifocals. He wears a pacemaker in his chest to quicken his heartbeat when it slows. One of his heart valves is synthetic; it replaced the natural one that developed a calcium deposit. He is nearly deaf without his hearing aids. A bulbous nose dominates his rumpled face, which looks forever melancholy even when its owner is not. He is 82 years old.

But Claude Denson Pepper is like a vintage automobile with new parts: he gets better and more powerful with age. By an odd convergence of historical trends, Pepper's unshakable New Deal liberalism is in phase with the graying of America, even at a time when conservatism marches forcefully through Washington's corridors of power. Some 36 million Social Security recipients, and millions more who are nearing retirement, count on Claude Pepper to protect their rights and well-being. And Pepper has doggedly done so.

That should be especially evident this week; President Reagan is scheduled to sign a historic package of Social Security reforms designed to save the system from insolvency. The undisputed champion of the elderly, Pepper had held the fate of the delicately balanced compromise in his hands. He had fought against all cuts in benefits, gave ground only grudgingly when concessions had to be made to keep the legislation alive, and responsibly withheld the veto many of his more zealous followers had wanted him to wield. Says Pepper, accurately and with no false modesty: "If I had not voted for it, then there would not have been a package, and there would have been complete chaos."

After 14 years as a U.S. Senator from Florida and 20 years as a Congressman from the Miami area, Pepper is at the peak of his astonishingly tireless and durable career. He demonstrated his political punch in the 1982 congressional elections, stumping with surprising energy in 26 states. Of the 73 House Democrats he supported, 54 won. The difference he made varied, of course, from race to race. But his presence never hurt. "Claude was the most sought-after speaker by Democratic candidates in 1982," recalls House Majority Leader Jim Wright. "At one rally for elderly people, we expected 200, but 800 showed up and waited for an hour and a quarter to hear him." Adds California Congressman Tony Coelho, Democratic congressional campaign committee chairman: "No single person had more of an impact on the 1982 elections. His mug was all over this country—on posters, on banners, on TV and billboards. He was a symbol to the elderly and the helpless."

While Pepper's critics contend that he exploited the Administration's hastily prepared and ruefully withdrawn initial proposals for cutting Social Security benefits, he is liked and respected by House colleagues of both parties. Last January he became chairman of the House Rules Committee, which can determine not only the timing of legislation but sometimes whether a bill comes to a vote at all. He reluctantly relinquished his chairmanship of the House Select Committee on Aging. "It was wrenching," he says. "Like choosing between a brother and a sister."

"His very person debunks the myths about aging," says Jack Ossofsky of the National Council on the Aging. "Concern about the elderly, the poor and the frail has characterized his entire career."

He intends to do more. A bill sponsored by Pepper and passed in 1978 eliminated any mandatory retirement age for most federal employees and raised it from 65 to 70 for workers in private industry. He has a new bill in the House hopper to remove any such age limits at all. "The only mandatory retirement," he says, "is when you can't do the work any more."

The Senator turned Congressman (everyone still calls him Senator, even though he has not been one since 1951) has an urgent interest in cancer research. In 1937 he sponsored a bill that created the National Cancer Institute. Now he wants the Government to provide an extra $100 million in each of the next five years for work on the disease. "You know, I lost my wife Mildred to cancer in 1979," he says quietly. "Last month I spoke at a wake for Don Petit of my staff, who died of cancer in Florida. A woman on my staff is suffering from bone cancer and

Photographs for TIME by Dirck Halstead

Hard at work in his Capitol Hill office with members of his "family"

was told she'll probably never be able to walk again. Well, we've got to do more to try to stop this disease."

But will not all such social programs cost too much in an age of soaring budget deficits? Others may bend to political fashion, but Pepper never wavers: "I would rather live with $200 billion deficits and have more people living, than the reverse. And if we don't spend the money fighting cancer and arthritis and poverty and poor housing and all the rest, they'll just spend it on the military or something else." In Pepper's view, that settles that.

"He's reversed the aging process," says Florida Senator Lawton Chiles. "He has more political power than ever."

While Pepper's body has required a few repairs, his mind remains sharp. His memory is so keen that he can be introduced to seven people at lunch and thereafter address them unerringly by name. He recalls conversations with F.D.R. more than four decades ago in vivid detail. Pepper is most impressive on the podium. He never reads from a text, rarely uses notes, yet the words roll out in graceful sentences. The loose skin on his chin and neck fairly quivers with indignation and a clenched fist punches the air when he berates "an Administration that wants to cut $11 billion from Medicare." When he recounts stories of poor people hurt by budget trims, Pepper sometimes gets misty-eyed. So do his listeners. Congressman Coelho was present on one such occasion during the 1982 campaign. "Claude's eyes teared over, and by the time he finished speaking, 70% of the audience were teary-eyed. It was just a tremendous emotional experience."

Neither exercise nor diet explains Pepper's mental agility and physical stamina. He loves golf but gets out on the course only sporadically, recently shooting 48 over nine holes at Coral Gables Country Club and winning 75¢ from his opponents. He admits that he does not even walk as much as he would like, although when he does, he says, "I walk fast." He eats heartily and is a bit overweight (5 ft. 7½ in., 180 lbs.). His one dietary idiosyncrasy: he has soup and crackers with each meal, even breakfast.

Pepper gave up smoking in 1933. Strangers often view his red, veiny nose as a sign of heavy drinking, but he denies it. Except for one or two glasses of white wine with lunch and dinner, he abstains from alcohol. In the House dining room, waitresses automatically bring Pepper his soup, crackers and a carafe of wine. No connoisseur, he never asks for anything fancier than chablis.

If there is a key to Pepper's vitality, it is that he enjoys his work and has never lost his passionate concern for people and issues. His home telephone numbers are listed in both the Washington and Miami directories, and constituents often call, seeking help with red tape or support for legislation. He keeps regular office hours in both cities and meets with anyone who asks to see him.

After a speech to retirees or other older folks, Pepper lingers to bask in the affection of his admirers. He moves slowly among them, sometimes bussing a few of the women who do not kiss him first. He eagerly grasps the outstretched hands of the men. His rapport with the elderly is such that his office is inundated with their messages whenever an issue that concerns them is pending in Washington. During the Social Security debate last month, some 3,000 letters and 100 phone calls sought his attention each week. Says Pepper about the elderly: "They deserve much—and need much. I am helping them."

On a typical weekday in Washington, Pepper rises by 6:30, reads the *Post* and keeps a breakfast appointment at 8. He drives himself around in a long Lincoln Town Car, carries his own bag through airports, normally travels alone. A housekeeper cares for his waterfront condominium in Miami, and a staff aide, James Brennan, 66, shares his northwest Washington apartment. The two often dine out together. Then Pepper watches the 11 o'clock news, skims the New York *Times* and goes to bed by midnight.

His weekends are scarcely less regimented. Not long ago, he traveled to Austin for a Saturday speech, then flew to Miami for a funeral on Sunday. He took a 10 o'clock flight that night to Boston, getting to bed in Cambridge at 3 a.m. A limousine picked him up at 7:45 a.m. Monday for breakfast with Harvard President Derek Bok. (A gentle flirt with women, Pepper probably would have preferred eggs and bacon with Bo Derek.) He held a series of press conferences, spoke for an hour to a Harvard Medical School gerontology class, then returned to Washington for an afternoon of House business. That night, Pepper made another speech.

Often described as a millionaire (he says he would qualify only if some Florida beach land he owns were sold for his asking price of $600,000), Pepper has no qualms about drawing some $650 a month in Social Security benefits that he qualified for at the age of 72. And he says he will not mind paying tax on this pension, as required under the new law for high income earners. Says he: "Social Security is an insurance program to which

DIANA WALKER

Visiting a nursing home in Washington

I have contributed. It isn't welfare."

The Peppers had no children, and he has long referred to his staff as "my family." But he has been lonely without Mildred. He sadly recalls the day when he and his wife sat at a small table in their Miami home after she had begun treatments for cancer. "Well, Claude," said Mildred, his wife of more than 40 years, "it looks as if we may be coming to the end of the road." He embraced her and said through tears, "Don't talk like that, Mildred. I can't think of life without you." In their Washington apartment, there is still a note in his wife's handwriting attached to a shower curtain. It reads: "After your shower, please close this curtain."

"He has flair," says Anne Ackerman, 69, a Democratic leader in Miami's Dade County. "He has style. He epitomizes what a public servant should be. Claude Pepper represents an America that is a civilization rather than just a country with borders. He is what you want life to be."

Part of Pepper's style is his droll humor. Some of his jokes may be as old as he is, but his deadpan delivery delights his audiences. Arriving late for a speech, he tells his listeners about two men in colonial days who were set to duel at dawn. Only one of the antagonists showed up. The other sent a note by messenger. It read: "I'm running a little late this morning. Please go ahead without me."

Another Pepper story, which Reagan has taken to telling on occasion, involves a bishop and a Congressman who arrive in heaven together. St. Peter shows the Congressman a lavish suite of rooms, while assigning the bishop a small one with no view. When the bishop complains that his lifetime of service to the church rates something better, St. Peter replies: "Don't feel bad, Bishop. You know, we have thousands of bishops up here, but this is the first Congressman we ever got."

Neatness is another Pepper trademark. He wears a fresh suit, usually with vest, every day. His sparse white hair (he stopped wearing a toupee in 1980 after it blew off as he greeted President Jimmy Carter at the Miami Airport) is carefully combed. Presiding at a recent House Rules Committee hearing, he leaned back, motioned to an aide and whispered in his ear. The aide rushed to straighten a portrait on a side wall. Pepper nodded his approval.

"In Alabama, we lived in a house that was little more than a place to sleep," recalls Claude's brother Frank, 65. "We did not have a car. I can remember hearing him come home late at night, rehearsing speeches he was going to give when he became a U.S. Senator."

Pepper cannot really explain how he managed to grow up uninfected by the redneck racism prevalent in the Alabama farm country where he was born in 1900. "Why, I was full grown," says Pepper, the eldest of four children, "before I ever traveled on a paved road." Whatever the reason, he felt the stir of ambition early on: at the tender age of ten, he carved the words CLAUDE PEPPER, UNITED STATES SENATOR on a tree.

Pepper entered the University of Alabama in the fall of 1918. To help pay his way, he worked from 4 a.m. to 7 a.m. hauling coal and ashes at a power plant. He starred on the debating team, ran on the track squad, made Phi Beta Kappa, but lost his first election: for student-body president. When his oratorical skills took him to a contest in Chapel Hill, N.C., "it was the farthest north I had ever been."

The North beckoned, however. "Why shouldn't I go to the best law school there is?" he asked himself. He applied to Harvard, was admitted and got tuition, books and $100 a month support money from the Veterans Administration. The reason: during his brief Army service, spent training at the University of Alabama, he suffered an injury that developed into a double hernia. Pepper's appreciation for both education and a benevolent Uncle Sam was never to leave him: "I get so burned up when anybody tries to cut back on the money available to help needy students."

After Harvard, Pepper taught law for a year at the University of Arkansas, then set up practice in Perry, Fla. In the next eleven years, he handled some 30 murder cases, taking one of them successfully all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Active in Democratic politics, Pepper, at 28, became a member of the Florida Democratic executive committee. He won at the polls for the first of 15 times: he was elected to the Florida house of representatives. One of his first bills showed his early concern for the elderly. It would let anyone over 65 fish without a license.

But his sense of racial fairness may have cost him his seat two years later. He was defeated after voting against a resolution that criticized Mrs. Herbert Hoover for inviting the wife of a black Congressman to the White House. Recalls Pepper: "I thought my political career had died aborning."

He resumed his law practice, opening an office in Tallahassee and bringing his parents to live with him in 1931. The Depression had proved ruinous to his father. Pepper learned firsthand the problems of the elderly, caring for his father until he died in 1945 at the age of 72 and his mother until her death in 1961 at 84.

But Pepper yearned to return to politics. He made a brash bid in 1934 to unseat U.S Senator Park Trammell in the Democratic primary. F.D.R. was in the White House, and Pepper's campaign slogan was wordy but effective: "The Welfare of the Common Man Is the Cornerstone of the New Deal." Virtually unknown, he nevertheless forced a run-off and lost by a mere 4,050 votes. When both of the state's Senators died within weeks of each other in 1936, Pepper filed for one of the vacancies. His earlier showing scared off challengers, and at 36, he was elected to the Senate unopposed. Says

Balancing Act

Everyone agreed that something had to be done. Otherwise, Social Security's main retirement fund would have slid into the red by July. But there are few more politically volatile issues than whether to restore the system to solvency by raising more revenues or by reducing benefits. After wrestling with the problem for a year, a bipartisan commission headed by Economist Alan Greenspan recommended a mixture that leans more heavily on new revenues than on benefit cuts. Passed overwhelmingly by Congress, the plan represents a victory for Claude Pepper and others who opposed shrinking the system. Its major provisions:

▸ Increases in the payroll tax will be accelerated, netting some $39.4 billion in added revenue by 1990. At present, employers and employees each ante up 6.7% of salary; the figure for employers will reach 7% next year, 7.05% for both in 1985, 7.15% in 1986, 7.51% in 1988 and 7.65% in 1990. The tax is currently applied to a maximum pay of $35,700, but this ceiling will rise as the average national wage increases, as under the present law.

▸ Self-employed people will have to pay a Social Security tax equal to 100% of the total paid by employers and employees; they now pay only 70%.

▸ Taxes will have to be paid on a portion of the Social Security benefits of anyone whose income plus one-half of their pension exceeds $25,000 a year. For married couples filing jointly, the base amount will be $32,000.

▸ For the first time, all federal employees who join the Government after Jan. 1, 1984, will be covered by Social Security, expanding the system's base and revenues. Employees of nonprofit organizations will also be forced into the system. Employees of state or local governments now covered can no longer withdraw.

▸ Early retirement will still be permitted at 62, but benefits, currently 80% of the full pension paid at 65, will drop to 75% in the year 2009 and 70% in 2027.

▸ The retirement age for full benefits will increase from 65 to 66 between 2003 and 2009 and then to 67 between 2021 and 2027.

▸ The next cost of living adjustment for those now receiving benefits will be delayed from July to next January. The change will be calculated each January thereafter, based on fluctuations in the Consumer Price Index.

▸ The bonus that workers over 65 get for delaying their retirement, which is now 3% of benefits for each year's delay, will gradually increase to 8% between 1990 and 2008. The maximum delay is five years.

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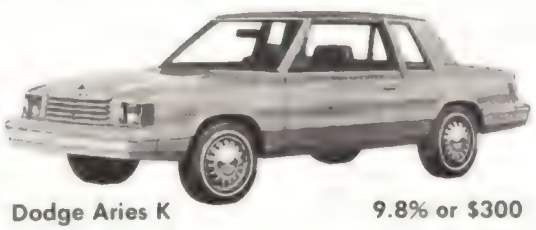

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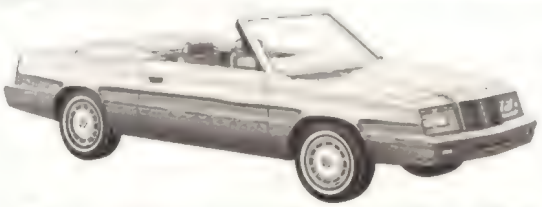

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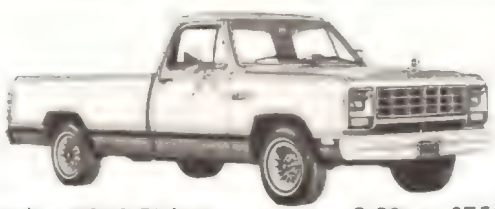

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Riding with Franklin Roosevelt in 1938; stumping on a Florida sidewalk for re-election the same year

Clearing his throat with a gargle before 1938 speech; napping with Mildred in campaign plane in 1950

Pepper, a Baptist: "I realized then that providence can handle my affairs much better than I can."

Roosevelt sought the freshman Senator's support for his power-grabbing and ultimately unsuccessful plan to pack the Supreme Court with additional Justices. Pepper had reservations, but, far from timid, he said he would go along if F.D.R. would help him win election to his first full six-year term in 1938. "I will, and that's a commitment," promised the President, who kept his word.

Pepper, in turn, became one of F.D.R.'s stalwart supporters on Capitol Hill. When resistance to New Deal economic programs grew in the Senate, the Florida newcomer rose to scold his elders: "We haven't gone too far, we haven't gone far enough. This is not the Promised Land. Are we going to commit the same folly that the children of Israel did?" His colleagues rose in an ovation. Newspaper Columnist Drew Pearson called the speech "one of the greatest of its kind ever heard in the Senate chamber."

Pepper easily won re-election in 1938 after defeating a former Florida Governor in the primary by more than 100,000 votes. But his liberalism was antagonizing businessmen in the state, who vowed to turn him out of office. Pepper had been instrumental in passing the nation's first minimum wage law, which guaranteed workers 25¢ an hour. "Business never forgave me," he says. It was the last major piece of New Deal legislation.

His views on foreign affairs also undermined his Florida support. He and his wife Mildred visited Berlin after his 1938 re-election, and the Senator was alarmed by what he recalls with wry understatement as "the mutterings of war." Pepper joined the push for a military draft and came up with an innovation of his own. He was convinced that the only way the U.S. could stay out of the war in Europe was to help the Allies win it. Since they were awaiting warplanes on order from the U.S., Pepper reasoned, why not send them aircraft out of the U.S. Air Force, replacing these planes later as the orders came off production lines? This idea, rejected at first in the Senate, became the Lend-Lease program, which provided Britain, in particular, with crucial ships, warplanes and other war matériel.

For his efforts, Pepper was hanged in effigy at the Capitol in August 1940, by women who opposed his "warmongering." He still has the coconut head and stuffed denims that the women had fashioned to look like him.

Pepper won re-election in 1944 but, mainly because of his liberal views, speaking invitations in Florida dropped off as civic clubs and local Chambers of Commerce blackballed him. Business leaders were building a campaign war chest to beat him in 1950. He played right into the hands of his foes. Traveling abroad in 1945, Pepper met Joseph Stalin and naively described the Soviet dictator as "a man Americans can trust."

The following year, Pepper accepted an invitation to attend a left-wing political rally in New York's Madison Square Garden. Waiting backstage with Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace and others, Pepper was asked to pose for a group photo. As he did so, Paul Robeson, the opera singer who was widely considered a Communist, took a position beside him. The resulting photo of Pepper looking chummy with a black Soviet sympathizer was to prove a political disaster for him back home.

Pepper also incurred the potent wrath of Harry Truman by joining a dump-Truman movement at the 1948 Democratic convention. Pepper felt that Truman had abandoned Roosevelt's domestic programs. Pepper and others tried to persuade World War II Hero Dwight Eisenhower to run as a Democrat. They got word that Ike would not seek the nomination, but would accept it. Thus Pepper led a Florida delegation pledged largely to Ike, gaining headlines that made Truman furious. Ike left Pepper out in the cold by sending him a telegram withdrawing his name from consideration.

Truman did not forget. Shortly after upsetting Republican Thomas Dewey in the election, he summoned George Smathers, then a Florida Congressman, to the White House. Pepper had helped Smathers get elected. "I want you to do me a favor," Smathers recalls Truman's saying. "I want you to beat that son-of-a-bitch Claude Pepper."

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That 1950 senatorial election was one of the dirtiest on record. The Robeson-Pepper photo was circulated widely. So too was a book called *The Red Record of Senator Claude Pepper*, which distorted his attitude toward the Soviet Union. He was stuck with the label Red Pepper.

But the campaign is chiefly remembered for remarks attributed to Smathers—and later denied by him—in TIME. Quoting Northern newspapers, the magazine said Smathers used fancy language to convey sinister meanings to benighted rural listeners: "Are you aware that Claude Pepper is known all over Washington as a shameless extravert? Not only that, but this man is reliably reported to practice nepotism with his sister-in-law, and he has a sister who was once a thespian in wicked New York. Worst of all, it is an established fact that Mr. Pepper before his marriage habitually practiced celibacy."

Pepper was defeated by 67,000 votes. "On election night people came up to our house in cars, shouting obscenities, cheering the fact that I had been defeated," Pepper recalls. "They wanted to destroy me, and just about did."

(Pepper is not a man to carry a grudge, but it was not until last year that he fully forgave Smathers. When an aide suggested asking Smathers' law firm for a campaign contribution, Pepper reluctantly agreed and was surprised when he got a $350 check in reply. Shortly thereafter, Pepper walked up to Smathers, who was lunching in the House dining room, and said without smiling: "You know that check you sent in for my campaign? Well, it bounced." It had not, of course, and when Smathers realized that Pepper was joking, both knew that their enmity was over.)

Once again, Pepper returned to his law practice. He tried a senatorial comeback in 1958, but was beaten in the Democratic primary. By 1962 he was earning more than $150,000 a year, representing mainly corporate clients. But when a new Miami congressional district was created that year, he jumped back into the political swim. He missed politics, and Mildred missed the capital's social whirl. Says Brother Joe, 73, about Claude's law practice: "He was very successful. But he was miserable, just plain miserable."

Pepper did not consider it demeaning to step down from Senator to Congressman, although he concedes that "most people go the other way." If he had somehow stayed in the Senate, he figures he would have become chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and might have wound up serving longer than anyone else. "But that committee doesn't save many souls," he adds. "I know I'm doing more good now."

At a Veterans Administration hospital in Miami, a patient in a wheelchair watches Pepper greeting the bedridden and says: "I'm a Republican. But I always vote for Senator Pepper. He doesn't care if you're an old Republican or an old Democrat. Just so you're old."

Pepper is far from a one-issue legislator. In 1945 he sponsored a resolution that led to the creation of the World Health Organization and, in the late '40s, bills establishing five of the National Institutes of Health. Not only does he favor a freeze on nuclear arms now, but he advocated one after the end of World War II. Still, nothing offends his sense of justice quite as much as modern society's tendency to view the elderly as a burden or a stereotyped group. He does not feel complimented when someone tells him: "My, you don't look your age." Inwardly, he grumps, "How am I expected to look? Toothless and doddering, a caricature of my younger self?" Pepper assails "ageism" as "just as wrong as racism or sexism."

Facing another busy day as he drives to work in his Lincoln Town Car

At a recent Miami dinner in his honor, Pepper spoke eloquently about growing older. "The aging process is so slow, so gradual, that all you notice is a slight diminishing of some of your faculties," he said solemnly. What the elderly want is "to be thought of as just other people. They need love. They need compassion." He concedes that attitudes toward the aging are improving and predicts that this will get much better when, as demographers predict, the elderly constitute an even larger share of the nation's population.

If Pepper could wave "a legislative wand," he says he would "enact a Medicare bill under which the entire cost would be borne by the Government instead of just the 45% now." He would provide home health care, claiming that it would often save the Government the higher cost of putting people who need not be there in hospitals. And he would provide more preventive health coverage, in hopes of checking illness and prolonging life. Overall, Pepper is optimistic, even without his wand, because he feels that pressure is growing on the Administration to stop cutting social programs. "The Reagan era will come to an end. Already we're moving toward compassion in Government again."

When Pepper's admirers worry about his advancing years and how long he expects to be on Capitol Hill, he sometimes admits that he has retirement plans. "I've set the year," he drawls. As his listeners' concern grows, he adds without a smile: "The year 2000. But I reserve the right to change my mind."

In fact, Pepper has big plans for next year. He intends to lead a drive to elect some 500 delegates who are at least 65 years old to the 1984 Democratic National Convention. That would be about 12% of the total, and he wants to use their leverage to influence the choice of a nominee and the candidate's stand on issues dear to the elderly.

Already, the contenders for the nomination are seeking Pepper's support. Senator Alan Cranston has even listed Pepper as a possible running mate if the Californian were to succeed in his long-shot pursuit of the nomination. Such a Democratic ticket, with a combined age of 154 at election time, would accomplish the impossible: it would make a Republican team of Reagan and Vice President George Bush (combined age 133) look young.

Some of Pepper's most avid fans even urge him to run for President. He clearly considers himself just as physically fit as, and more capable than, the present occupant of the Oval Office. Claims Pepper about 1984: "I'll be better able to throw my hat in the ring at 83 than Ronald Reagan will be at 73." In less quixotic moments, Pepper admits that he is, at best, suited to the No. 2 spot. "It's easy to replace a Vice President," he says, in a rare recognition of his own mortality.

At an age when most people are savoring old memories, Claude Pepper never looks back. His latest legislative proposal is to create a House Committee on the Future of the U.S. He, of course, would like to stick around to help shape its vision, and to see that the recommendations are carried out. In the meantime, he plans to lead his graying army to greater triumphs—and to keep bugging Ronald Reagan.

An elderly woman spots Pepper on a Miami sidewalk and throws her arms around his neck. "I just want to thank you," she says, "for what you are doing for us."

—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Hays Gorey/Washington

MIDDLE EAST

Missing A Rare Chance

Arafat's "no" to Hussein hinders Reagan's plan

P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat: he made sure he would have a chance to fight another day

Like a jet-age symbol of the Palestinian diaspora, Yasser Arafat seemed to be at home only inside the fuselage of an airplane last week. As diplomats on several continents tried in vain to understand the latest political maneuvers in the Middle East, the shrewd survivor who runs the Palestine Liberation Organization jetted from South Yemen to North Yemen to Sweden and then to Tunisia, supposedly to attend a high-level P.L.O. policy meeting. But soon after arriving in Tunis, he left for a quick trip to Bulgaria, finally returning to Tunisia. Amid all this frenetic travel, whose purpose only the P.L.O. chairman himself could fathom, Arafat studiously managed to avoid going back to Jordan, where he had been engaged in intense discussions with King Hussein a week earlier. By not doing so, he dealt a crippling and possibly fatal blow to the bold Middle East peace plan that Ronald Reagan had proposed last September.

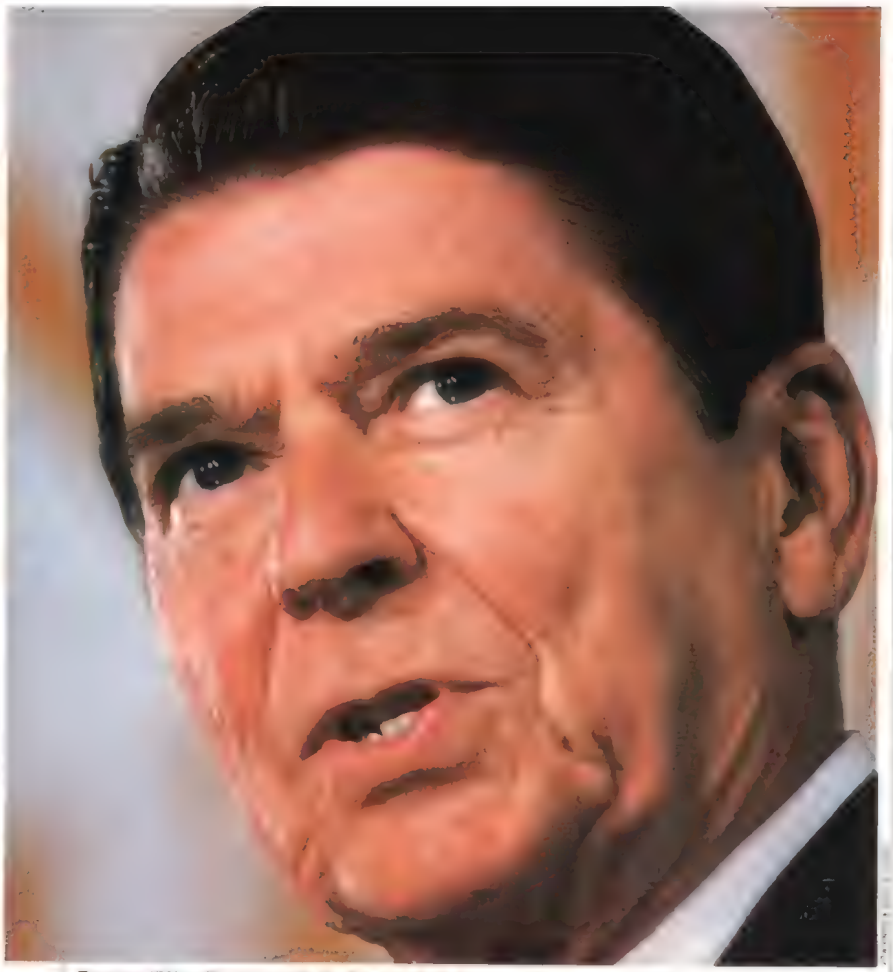
At stake was the future of the 1.3 million Palestinians who live in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's goal is to accelerate the Jewish settlement of the West Bank, filling it with so many Israelis that the process of colonization will be irreversible. Indeed, on the same day the talks between Arafat and Hussein broke down, Israeli newspapers reported a government plan to build 57 more settlements in the West Bank, in order to achieve the goal of putting 100,000 Israeli settlers in the territory by 1986. Arafat's inability to agree on a joint diplomatic strategy with King Hussein to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians had exasperated Hussein to the point that he announced he would no longer try to negotiate along the lines of the Reagan plan. It also raised the question of whether the internally divided P.L.O. was still capable of defending the interests of its Palestinian constituency or whether, as its critics charge, it was now more interested in assuring its own survival as an organization.

President Reagan was caught off guard by the news from Amman, but he tried to down-play its significance. After telephoning King Hussein as well as King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, Reagan declared that he was still "very hopeful" that his peace plan could remain the basis of future negotiations. Two days later, blaming the breakdown of the Amman talks on "radical elements" of the P.L.O., the President called on the Palestinian leadership to make "a bold and courageous move to break the [prevailing] deadlock." Added Reagan: "We will not permit the forces of violence and terror to exercise a veto over the peace process." Shortly thereafter, Arafat hinted to Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme in Stockholm that he might still pursue negotiations with King Hussein.

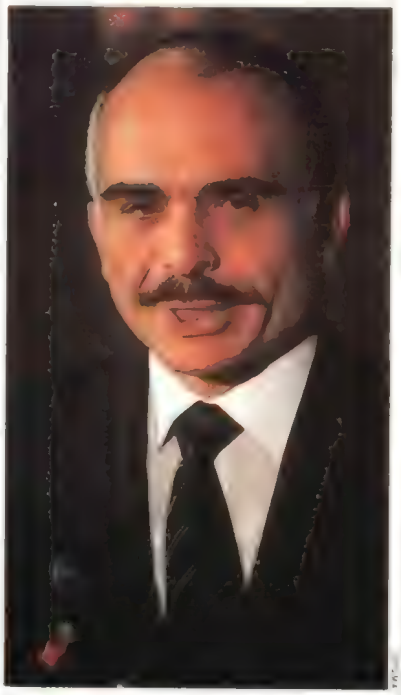
Even if the Reagan plan was not dead, it was certainly comatose. And there were plenty of parties to blame for the fact that an idea that had received broad U.S. and European support had failed to have any lasting impact on the Middle East. Begin did not help by declaring Reagan's plan "stillborn" one week after the President's speech, or by stepping up the pace of settlement in the occupied territories. The U.S. never followed through with the kind of diplomatic pressure that would impress all the various parties in the Middle East. And the Palestinians missed a historic opportunity by refusing to make the essential concession—recognition of Israel's right to exist—that could have brought Israel to the bargaining table

It was a week when everything seemed to be falling apart, and it began with the assassination in Portugal of Dr. Issam Sartawi, 47, a P.L.O. moderate who had repeatedly told his Palestinian colleagues that they should recognize Israel. A roving envoy for the P.L.O., Sartawi was attending a meeting of the Socialist International when he was gunned down by a lone assailant in the lobby of a hotel. Though Arafat blamed the murder of his old friend on Israeli intelligence, a radical Palestinian group known as the Abu Nidal faction, which split from the P.L.O. in 1974, quickly claimed responsibility. Sartawi's crime: favoring a negotiated settlement between Israel and the Arab states as "the only civilized solution for the Middle East."

Scarcely six hours later, the Jordanian Cabinet announced that it had failed to reach an agreement with the P.L.O. and that King Hussein would not be taking part in any peace talks based on the Reagan plan, which envisions a future relationship between Jordan and the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The



Reagan: "We will not permit the forces of violence and terror to veto the peace process"



King Hussein: "We will not act separately"

Plenty of parties to blame for the failure.

announcement came at the end of months of intermittent negotiations between Jordan and the P.L.O. and several days of intensive discussions between Hussein and Arafat. The P.L.O. leader then left for Kuwait but promised to return to Amman within a few days, presumably to work out the final details of an agreement. The resulting document, which would have set forth the terms under which Jordan and the P.L.O. would enter peace talks over the West Bank and Gaza, could have set the whole peace process in motion. But Arafat soon discovered that he did not have the support of his organization, and Hussein concluded that he could not proceed at this stage without P.L.O. backing. His Cabinet announced: "We in Jordan, having refused from the beginning to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians, will neither act separately nor in lieu of anybody in Middle East peace negotiations."

There were, needless to say, conflicting accounts as to what had gone wrong. Though Arafat and Hussein had always been political rivals and, on occasion, enemies, they had agreed during their recent negotiations on several important points. Among them: Jordan and the P.L.O. would pursue "joint action at all levels"; they would seek a confederal relationship between the West Bank–Gaza entity and Jordan, rather than the fully independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza that the P.L.O. had always favored; and they would form some sort of joint delegation to any future peace talks.

Nonetheless, many details remained to be resolved. Hussein was determined to extract from Arafat a clear-cut statement of policy that could lead to peace talks. He argued that the so-called Fez plan, in which Arab leaders last September had called for a fully independent Palestinian state, was unworkable because it required negotiations through an international body rather than through Israel and the U.S. On the other hand, said the King, the Reagan plan "presented the vehicle that could propel the Fez plan forward," leading the Arabs in the direction of some of their long-cherished goals.

Arafat did not disagree. But he was concerned that the Reagan Administration had proved itself ineffectual in bringing pressure on Israel. He also complained that the Reagan plan failed to specify a role for the P.L.O. in the peace process and, even more important, did not recognize the Palestinian peoples' right to self-determination. Hussein argued that the Reagan plan offered the last real hope of preventing Begin from completing his absorption of the occupied territories. Over and over, they came up against the basic unresolved question: Would the P.L.O. recognize the existence of Israel, the price demanded by Washington as a precondition for P.L.O. participation in any negotiations? When Hussein said that the P.L.O. should accept Security Council Resolution 242, passed in 1967, Arafat pointed out that 242 referred to the Palestinians as a refugee problem. To him, this attitude was a symbol of the victimization of the Palestinians by Israelis, the Western powers and even the other Arabs in the years before the P.L.O. was strong enough to defend Palestinian rights.

Finally, the two men settled on a draft agreement in which Jordan and the P.L.O. pledged to act jointly on future peace initiatives, including the Reagan plan, but did not refer specifically to Resolution 242. Hussein thought that this proposal would be acceptable to the U.S. and that the document would lead to further negotiations. But Arafat did not sign the agreement during his final meeting with the King. Instead, he told Hussein that he wanted to consult with some P.L.O. colleagues and with certain Arab governments and that he would come back to Amman in about 48 hours. He did not return, though he sent two aides back to Amman to confer with the King.

What went wrong? The U.S. view is that when Arafat reached Kuwait with the draft proposal, he walked into a political ambush set by P.L.O. hard-liners influenced by Syria and, indirectly, by the Soviet Union. During meetings in Kuwait, P.L.O. leaders took out the reference to the Reagan plan and emphasized their support of the Fez proposals. Furthermore, they insisted that the P.L.O., not

King Hussein, would be the sole negotiating force in any future peace talks. When he learned of the changes, the King broke off the negotiations.

But there was more to the failure than a simple break between Arafat and P.L.O hard-liners. Six months ago, when Arafat began his search for an acceptable way of becoming involved in the Reagan initiative, he was opposed by only three minor P.L.O. factions, all of them clearly under Syrian tutelage. By February, when the P.L.O.'s *de facto* parliament, the Palestine National Council, met in Algiers, rejectionist sentiment had spread to the mainstream of the organization.

Even before he left Amman, Arafat knew that the draft agreement was in trouble. In Kuwait, he met with the central council of Fatah, the largest component of the P.L.O., and encountered more opposition than he had expected. Late that week Arafat sent Hussein a rejection not only of the Reagan plan but of some of the principles that he and the King had previously accepted as the basis of their negotiations. The message: the P.L.O. would not give up its role as the sole representative of the Palestinians, and its goal was still the creation of an independent state.

Arafat knew how Hussein would react to the news, and it was no accident that he chose not to deliver the message himself. Says a P.L.O. official who was close to the negotiations: "Arafat is always shrewd enough to make sure that he will have a chance to fight another day. The way the message was sent to Hussein was designed to make Arafat seem to be the great voice of moderation." At that point, having scuttled Hussein's hopes and sown an inordinate amount of confusion, Arafat left for South Yemen.

Upon hearing the bad news, U.S. officials insisted that the President's peace initiative remained the core of American policy. In an unusually angry mood, Secretary of State George Shultz declared that if the P.L.O. continued to drag its heels, the Arab states should stop thinking of it as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinians, a status it acquired at a 1974 Arab summit in Rabat, Morocco. Said Shultz: "There is a saying around here, 'Use it or lose it.' If people have the ability to do something, then they ought to measure up to those responsibilities."

Habib faces reporters at the peace talks

The Administration pointed out that King Hussein, one of its best friends in the Middle East, had done as much as he could to make "any settlement that might be reached more meaningful." This was apparently lost on Congress. In a curiously shortsighted move, a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee voted to make future U.S. arms sales to Jordan contingent on Hussein's willingness to join the Camp David negotiations and grant diplomatic recognition to Israel. Further undermining the Administration's position, the same subcommittee added $365 million to President Reagan's request for $2.45 billion in economic and military aid to Israel in fiscal 1984.

In truth, Hussein was probably less to blame than any of the other main participants in the Middle East debacle. Last September he hailed the Reagan plan as "courageous and positive" and promised to cooperate with it as best he could. The Administration assured the King, when he visited Washington in December, that if he would publicly state his willingness to enter negotiations, the U.S. would try to pressure Israel into freezing the construction of settlements. But the talks between Lebanon and Israel languished, and colonization of the West Bank continued at a rapid pace. Washington's inability to deliver on its promises eroded the Administration's credibility with Hussein and other moderate Arab leaders, making them hesitant to become involved in bold diplomatic initiatives. As a result, the King's peace campaign, like the Reagan plan on which it was based, appeared headed for the Middle East's ever expanding museum of missed opportunities.

The Israeli government reacted with relief to news that the Arafat-Hussein talks had failed. When President Reagan proposed his plan last September, Prime Minister Begin reminded the Knesset that the West Bank, which he refers to as Judea and Samaria, "will be for the Jewish people for generations upon generations." Said outgoing Israeli Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan last week: "The settlements will be established, and all the Arabs can do about it is scurry around like doped cockroaches in a bottle." Few Israeli officials would express their views so callously, but this blind determination to retain a captured territory whose population is 96% Palestinian Arab remains at the very core of the Middle East stalemate.

Much of the blame for the present impasse falls on the Arabs. Arafat has known for months that he could make progress toward negotiations only if he forged an agreement with Hussein on a joint diplomatic strategy. Arab moderates have advised Arafat that, given the pressures imposed by the rapid Israeli colonization of the West Bank, it might be time to use the P.L.O.'s ultimate weapon—recognition of Israel's right to exist—in a bold show of statesmanship. But Arafat allowed the unity and preservation of the P.L.O. to take precedence over the interests of the West Bank's residents. Similarly, moderate Arab leaders like Saudi Arabia's King Fahd have been reluctant to apply much pressure on Arafat.

The Reagan plan also had its faults and misconceptions. It intentionally minimized the role of the P.L.O. in the peace process, giving Arafat little to work for. In the same way, it made no direct mention of the Golan Heights, which Israel seized from Syria in the 1967 war and formally annexed in 1981, leaving the Syrians with no incentive to cooperate. Then, scarcely

Draped in a Jordanian flag, Sartawi's coffin is shouldered by P.L.O. pallbearers

His crime: opposing terrorism and favoring a negotiated settlement with Israel.

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The Great P.L.O. Juggling Act

As the murder of Issam Sartawi last week so dramatically illustrated, the Palestine Liberation Organization remains a babel of rival factions with disparate methods and goals. It has taken the energy and political savvy of Yasser Arafat to keep the uneasy coalition together, but the question now is whether he will be able to continue doing so.

The wonder of the P.L.O. is that it has managed to stay together so long. The umbrella organization is actually composed of at least eight groups. Foremost among the factions is Fatah, which holds an overwhelming majority of the seats on the Palestine National Council, the organization's *de facto* parliament. Headed by Arafat, Fatah enjoys the support of middle-class moderates and has few ideological goals other than the liberation of Palestine. Though Fatah receives most of its funds from the gulf states, primarily Saudi Arabia, and the Palestinian diaspora, it is the only group without binding ties to an Arab government. That independence, along with the fact that about 80% of the P.L.O.'s fighters are under its command, has made Fatah a formidable power base for Arafat.

The next most influential is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Its founder and leader is Dr. George Habash, a staunch Marxist who contends that a Palestinian state can be won only through armed struggle. Backed by Syria and Libya, Habash has clashed repeatedly with Arafat. During the late '60s, some disillusioned Habash supporters set up two splinter groups that are just as radical: the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, headed by Naif Hawatmeh, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command, led by Ahmed Jibril. Both also enjoy strong support from Syria. Other groups include the Libyan- and Iraqi-backed Popular Struggle Front and Saiqa, a guerrilla force that serves practically as a division of the Syrian army.

Terrorist Abu Nidal in 1976

Arafat's relatively moderate stance is also threatened by a group outside the coalition: an elusive band of guerrillas led by Abu Nidal, who broke away from the P.L.O. in 1974 after angrily accusing Arafat of growing soft toward Israel. So strained are their relations that Arafat and Abu Nidal have publicly ordered each other killed. Abu Nidal and his group obviously are quite capable of mayhem: besides admitting to Sartawi's murder, they took responsibility for trying to kill Israeli Ambassador to Britain Shlomo Argov last June. The P.L.O. blames Abu Nidal's group for assassinating its representatives in Europe over the past five years.

Never an easy task, leading the P.L.O. has grown more difficult for Arafat since the organization's military defeat in Beirut last summer. The Fatah guerrillas bore the brunt of the fighting and so took most of the blame for the rout. At the same time, the dispersal of P.L.O. forces throughout the Middle East broke up the centralized chain of command so carefully nurtured by Arafat in Beirut. Says a top P.L.O. military officer: "All the battles we fought in Lebanon drew us together. Now that we are scattered, the divisions have become more apparent again." Arafat has aggravated tensions by refusing to mend his differences with Syrian President Hafez Assad while trying to negotiate with Jordan's King Hussein. Even many moderates have begun to fear that their leader seems too willing to compromise P.L.O. principles in order to preserve his public standing after Beirut.

One of Arafat's greatest talents has always been his ability to play the various factions against one another. Says a Western diplomat in Damascus: "As long as he could keep all the balls in the air, Arafat could use the divergent tendencies in the P.L.O. to keep one from becoming too dominant." In the aftermath of Beirut, Arafat has fumbled enough to unite his opponents and call his leadership into question. Yet he has met and survived challenges before, and even radical P.L.O. members realize that he is the only Palestinian leader who enjoys international stature. If the great juggler cannot keep all the balls in the air, the question will be whether the P.L.O. is turning toward those who killed Sartawi or those who mourned him.

a fortnight after the plan was announced, came the assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel, the Israeli move into West Beirut, and the massacre of an estimated 700 to 800 Arab civilians by Lebanese Christian militiamen. Angry that their military victory in Lebanon was turning into a political disaster, the Israelis set back the timetable for withdrawal of their troops from Lebanon. They were motivated partly by the desire to negotiate guarantees of security along their northern border, partly by the wish to deflect attention from the hated Reagan initiative until it died of inertia.

The irony is that, having suffered so serious a setback in its efforts to bring Hussein and the Palestinians to the conference table, the U.S. seems to be making progress at last in the negotiations between Israel and Lebanon. U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib has told the Israelis that he saw a letter in which Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam assured his Lebanese counterpart, Elie Salem, that "when the last Israeli leaves, the last Syrian will leave."

Washington has become more concerned about Syria as the Soviet Union has continued to resupply advanced weapons designed to help Syria avoid a repetition of the humiliating losses it suffered in air battles with Israeli jets last summer. Most important is a new air defense system, which includes two SA-5 sites manned by as many as 2,000 Soviet technicians and advisers. These long-range antiaircraft missiles have never before been deployed outside the Warsaw Pact. Their sophistication and range make them a threat to Israeli aircraft flying not only over Syria and Lebanon but over most of Israel as well.

For the moment, the Reagan Administration does not appear to have a well-defined plan as to what it should do next. There have been suggestions that Secretary of State Shultz should make a trip to the region himself, instead of relying only on subordinates like Habib. Officials have also proposed inviting King Hussein and other moderate Arab leaders to Washington for talks. But there were precious few hints of a future strategy last week beyond the assertion that the U.S. was sticking to the outlines of the Reagan plan. The problem with that, noted William Quandt, a former National Security Council staff member, is that "you can't salvage the plan just by pushing the same button harder." Whatever the Administration decides to do, the heightened Soviet military presence in Syria is an unnerving reminder that the residue of former wars can become the seeds of future conflict on a wider scale. The tragedy of the Middle East today is that too many people have an interest in keeping the fire alive. —*By William E. Smith. Reported by Roberto Suro/Amman and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington*

DIPLOMACY

Friendly Advice

Kohl tries to avert a row

Few Western leaders have more in common than Ronald Reagan and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Despite a sizable difference in their ages (Reagan is 72, Kohl is 53), both are folksy, outgoing politicians who share profoundly conservative but optimistic values. Both men feel strongly that the West must upgrade its nuclear defenses if it is to remain free in the face of new Soviet military challenges. Even though neither can speak the other's language, they also instinctively like each other.

The warmth was still evident last week, as Kohl paid a 25-hour visit to the White House in the wake of his decisive victory in West Germany's March 6 national elections. Before discussing affairs of state, the two leaders engaged in amiable small talk about such things as the heavy rains in California and the recent visit to the U.S. of Queen Elizabeth II. But the Chancellor was also the bearer of a serious message to the President. Kohl's friendly advice: the U.S. and its West European allies may once again be on a collision course over how to deal with the Soviets.

Kohl's less-than-glad tidings were delivered on behalf of the entire ten-nation European Council, of which he currently holds the rotating presidency. The Europeans are frankly worried that the U.S. is once again considering a tightening of the screws on East-West trade in the ideological war between Washington and Moscow. They fear that the use of the trade weapon may turn up on the agenda of next month's summit meeting of the seven leading industrial nations at Williamsburg, Va.* Kohl's delicate diplomatic mission was intended to head off that possibility. If the idea of punitive trade restrictions were to arise at Williamsburg, it could touch off a row within the NATO alliance as serious as the one that exploded last summer over U.S. attempts to block a planned natural gas pipeline from the Soviet Union to Western Europe. Said a senior U.S. official prior to Kohl's arrival in Washington: "The old pipeline battle lines are forming again."

Kohl conveyed the Europeans' concern to Reagan during three hours of meetings that included a White House lunch. The bluff West German Chancellor made much the same point over separate dinner sessions with Secretary of State George Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Among other things, Kohl stressed that the upcoming summit should deal with more global issues, such as high international interest rates and the dangers of protectionism. Said Kohl: "Williamsburg can be both a realistic summit and a signal of optimism to the world."

Whatever happens at Williamsburg, the U.S. is undoubtedly going to continue to look askance at the volume and substance of East-West trade. A focus for that critical view is the NATO alliance's Coordinating Committee on Export Controls, or COCOM, a body created in 1950 to monitor and restrict the flow of strategic Western industrial goods to the Warsaw Pact nations. It is virtually powerless today. Complains a senior Reagan Administration official: "COCOM is nothing but a junior Italian official and ten clerks."

Some U.S. officials are now proposing that COCOM be given the resources and the authority to examine the potential military use of any Western technology before it is sold to the Soviet Union. Western Europe, as Kohl tactfully made known during his brief Washington foray, is leery of that notion. The Chancellor's soul mate in the White House may have other ideas. ■

*The participants: the U.S., West Germany, France, Italy, Britain, Japan and Canada

Kohl and Reagan at the White House: two conservative soul mates sharing their views

Strong feelings that the West must upgrade its defenses in the face of the Soviet challenge.

Count Us Out

Nos among the noses

Censuses have become part of modern life, whether the counted cared to have their noses tallied or not. But in a rare display of actuarial obstinacy, West Germans last week won a skirmish in a war that attacks the very concept of the national head count.

Leading the fight was the Green Party, a loose amalgam of environmentalists and antinuclear militants, which charged that the *Volkszählung*, or people count, amounted to an invasion of privacy. (The questionnaire asks about everything from monthly rent to religious beliefs.) Last week an eight-judge federal court decided that there was merit to the argument and ordered the census postponed.

The case should answer an interesting question: Does the government's need to know about its citizenry, for such purposes as economic planning and urban development, supersede the individual's right to privacy? In West Germany at least, the government has unwittingly undermined its case with less-than-convincing assurances that census information would be treated confidentially. Official credibility was certainly not helped by disclosures that Munich census takers would be paid a bonus of $1 for every unregistered German they turned up and $2 for each illegal alien. ■

SWITZERLAND

Short Circuit

Was the KGB outfoxed?

It seemed to be a glaring example of the West's inability to keep sensitive high technology out of the hands of the Soviets. Last March, Favag S.A., a Swiss electronics firm, ordered two machines used in the production of microcircuitry from Perkin-Elmer Corp. of Norwalk, Conn. After receiving guarantees that the equipment would not fall into Soviet hands, the U.S. Government approved the sale. Favag, however, promptly shipped the machines to a second Swiss company, Eler Engineering, which is reported to be a channel through which East bloc countries obtain Western technology.

Now it appears that the Soviets may have been outfoxed. Apparently, the U.S. embassy discovered the subterfuge, and the commercial attaché in Bern intercepted the machines in France while they were en route to Moscow. Cooperating with the French counterintelligence service, he short-circuited the wiring and removed vital parts, reducing $500,000 worth of equipment to electronic scrap. But Swiss authorities warn that the scam may have a different twist: accounts of the CIA's role might have been planted by the KGB to reduce Western anxieties about the wholesale theft of technology by the Soviets. ■

639
GENERAL ELECTRIC

TOMATOES

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And it keeps the coffee hot too. So your next cup is always ready.

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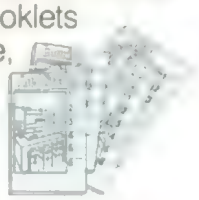

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GENERAL ELECTRIC

Lech Walesa and his wife Danuta in their Gdansk apartment after police questioning

POLAND

Conversations

The Walesas are detained

Former Union Leader Lech Walesa was in a combative mood last week when three policemen turned up at his apartment in the Polish seaport of Gdansk. The cops wanted to detain him for questioning, but the folk hero of the country's now outlawed Solidarity movement refused to go. His reason: the police could not produce an arrest warrant. Said Walesa: "You should abide by the laws." Momentarily nonplussed, the police retreated, but they returned almost immediately to tell Walesa that they would take him away by force if necessary. Finally, Walesa was whisked to a militia headquarters for five hours of "conversations." Then, just as abruptly, he was released.

The enigmatic confrontation was brought on by Walesa himself. A day earlier, he dramatically announced that he had just held three days of clandestine meetings with the underground leaders of the banned Solidarity union. The purpose of the meetings, said Walesa, was to examine "the present situation in Poland and to coordinate a common stand."

Polish television announced Walesa's release, saying only that he "did not confirm" the fact of his clandestine meetings. Walesa's wife Danuta, who was later ordered to report for a 2½-hour interrogation session, gave Polish authorities no further information beyond the fact that her husband had been absent from their home for three days and that he was "a grownup person." Even Mieczyslaw Wachowski, Walesa's occasional chauffeur, was called in for questioning by the suspicious police.

But in the end, the Polish government seemed reluctant to press the matter much further. After his release, Walesa told journalists that he had cited to his interrogators a declaration by official Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban, to the effect that meetings with ex-Solidarity leaders were not in themselves illegal unless the purpose was to plan an illegal act. Said the defiant Walesa: "I'll do it again. I will have another meeting."

At week's end Polish television further reported that police in Warsaw and eight other cities had also seized at least 26 Solidarity supporters, together with their radio transmitters and printing presses. Among the captives: Zbigniew Belz, one of the 107 elected members of Solidarity's National Commission. Polish authorities allegedly claim that Belz, having been in hiding since the declaration of martial law 16 months ago, had been helping to organize May Day protests around his native city of Gorzow Wielkopolski.

Ever since his release last November following eleven months of detention, Walesa has been uncharacteristically subdued. Solidarity has been equally quiescent, even though its underground leaders have issued a number of vague appeals for popular defiance to the military rule of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski. For its part, the debt-ridden Polish government is eager to project a veneer of normality, a task that is becoming increasingly important with the impending June visit of Pope John Paul II.

Last week's game of cat-and-mouse may be a small sign that the veneer is about to crack. Following Walesa's brief detention, Solidarity leaders issued a call for widespread protest demonstrations in Poland on May Day. As the most important festival in the proletarian calendar neared, the question also loomed of whether Polish workers and the Polish "workers' state" were once more on a collision course. ■

AUSTRALIA

Love-In

Hawke's historic summit

Sydney's *Sunday Telegraph* proclaimed it to be "Australia's D-day—a day aimed at determining our destiny." Even the conservative *Australian Financial Review* hailed it as "one of the most unusual and hopeful experiments we have ever witnessed in this country." Only five weeks after he won office, Prime Minister Bob Hawke, 53, made good on one of his most daring campaign promises by bringing together leaders of labor, business and government for an unprecedented National Economic Summit Conference. Its purpose: to reach a consensus in solving Australia's chronic economic problems.

Hawke's experiment in domestic diplomacy provoked some predictable skepticism. Andrew Peacock, who was elected leader of the opposition Liberal Party last month, dismissed the summit as "a carnival of economic sophistry." But few could contest the necessity of dealing with what Hawke called "Australia's gravest economic crisis for 50 years." Largely because of a debilitating drought, farm production, which accounts for half of Australia's exports, plummeted 20% in the second half of 1982. Moreover, the new Prime Minister inherited an unexpectedly high $8.2 million budget deficit, which has forced him to consider trimming welfare spending and increasing taxes. Hawke now hopes to reduce the nation's 10.4% unemployment figure without spurring an inflation rate that at 11.2% is well above the rates of Australia's principal trading partners.

The government's inevitable call for restraint was surprisingly well received at last week's gathering in the capital city of Canberra. The unions seemed willing to settle, for the time being at least, for modest wage increases pegged to the consumer price index. Business leaders struck an equally harmonious chord. Many, in fact, went so far as to advocate a freeze on senior management salaries, shareholders' dividends and medical fees.

DAVID B. SEGAL

Bob Hawke

By week's end, despite some signs of labor unrest, the conference participants had agreed in principle to a new, centralized wage-fixing system. Indeed, the majority signed a far-reaching 55-point communiqué pledging "to work together to meet the challenge of Australia's economic and social crisis." The summit had, it seemed, achieved the spirit of cooperation that Hawke wanted. Noted Michelle Grattan, political writer for the Melbourne *Age*: "The breakthrough was in the vibes, not the decisions." ■

Autorama USA

The new cars and trucks:
A salute to quality and value.

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That is the primary objective of the makers of 1983 cars and trucks—the ticket needed to enter the market place.

Quality is both a means and an end in today's auto market. As a means it is a map to follow, a path routed in measureable benchmarks of design, engineering, manufacturing, sales and servicing of high technology vehicles. As an end it is the value customers receive in the products they buy.

This special section, researched and written by the staff of Automotive News, "the weekly newspaper of the industry," tells the auto makers' quality story, and why all of us, as consumers, stand to benefit from the industry's bold new quality philosophy.

Unless you've been marooned on a desert island the past few years, you know automobiles are changing radically. An automotive revolution is under way. Big is no longer beautiful. Sheer speed isn't chic. High fuel costs are chasing motorists into sensibly-sized vehicles that take the guzzle out of the gas tank without compromising comfort, styling, handling, performance and safety.

A study done for TIME by an independent market research firm shows "quality" has jumped into the driver's seat. Ahead of brand, price, value for money, resale value, fuel economy, performance, maneuverability, standard features, selection of options, interior appearance, roominess, comfort and size as the reason buyers gave for their purchase.

Winds of change

Winds of change are blowing across the U.S. marketplace—sweeping away our craving for finned chariots with back seats big enough to cuddle up in and muscle enough to lay a patch of rubber on the road. Sure, we still want comfort and pizzazz. But more than that we want engines that never fail to start, transmissions that never leak, doors that have a solid sound when they're closed, trim that's perfectly aligned and paint with a rich depth of image—in short, vehicles that combine low-cost ownership with the highest standards of quality and value.

To auto manufacturers that means "engineering value-for-money." In '83 products they achieved that in a number of ways. They sent market researchers into the "real world" to get accurate definitions of customer expectations regarding quality, before initiating an '83 design or feature.

They worked with insurance companies—thinking about service and repairability before the product got anywhere near production. The payoff is that some '83 models qualify for the lowest rates offered by insurance companies.

They considered safety as more than just urging people to use seat belts. They viewed it as an expression of harmony between person and machine—responsiveness of the vehicle to the driver's command, the way it stays on the road, its power to accelerate out of difficulty, or brake before getting into it.

They went all out in '83 to put excitement back into cars and driving—including new V-8 engines, small by past standards but perky enough to move today's lighter-weight cars swiftly, along with faster-turning engines and lower gear ratios that help combine stronger performance and economy.

They came up with sporty new body styles, convertibles and smaller personal pickup trucks, a foot or more shorter than full-size pickups, yet able to haul big loads while offering 25 miles per gallon and better.

Fuel efficiency

As recently as 1974 the nation's automobile fuel economy fleet average was only 13 miles per gallon. Today it's double that because of strong consumer demand for fuel-efficient cars.

New domestic makes in '83 score remarkably well in fuel economy, according to Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) calculations. In Equivalent Test Weight classes (see *Fuel Economy Averages by Weight Class*) where a direct comparison can be made between domestic and import '83 model cars, domestics show overall superiority in 10 of 11 classes.

The conclusion is that domestic manufacturers have established a good, workable balance in providing both fuel economy and the convenience of options, such as automatic transmissions and air conditioning, that many buyers of even small cars demand.

Fuel economy averages by weight class

Source: EPA 1983 49-state test car list—Passenger Car Gas Mileage Guide. MPG figures are metro/highway fuel economy average

Less maintenance, more reliability

Costs associated with scheduled service on U.S.-built cars and personal trucks are increasing at a lower rate than most consumer products. In some cases the cost of scheduled maintenance has gone down, and many items on maintenance schedules have been eliminated altogether.

Design changes that make servicing easier have affected scheduled-maintenance costs in 1983 products. Components were made more easily accessible and procedures for servicing components were made simpler. Fuses were placed in easy-to-reach locations. Visible and audible wear indicators on components such as brakes and ball joints are among many items that reduce maintenance time and cost on the new vehicles.

Another quality improvement indicator comes from General Warranty Corp., one of the nation's largest vehicle service contract administrators, which reports improvements are being made in the mechanical reliability of American-made vehicles. Based on statistical tracking of claim reports, there has been a 25 percent reduction in major mechanical failures of U.S.-made products.

Expenditure and cost

According to U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis figures (see *Average Expenditure Per New Car*), the average rate of increase for new-car prices slowed in 1983. Moreover, the rate of increase for domestic makes continued to rise at a slower rate than the price of import cars. That continued a trend that began in 1981 when, for the first time, the average price of a new import topped that of a domestic make.

As a result, the overall cost of owning a car has increased at a surprisingly low rate over the past three years (see page S7 *A New Car May Cost Less Than You Think*). While average expenditure per new car rose 27 percent from 1980 to 1983, monthly cost of ownership went up only 9 percent as a result of improved fuel economy and lower financing costs available for 1983 models.

The real payoff to the buyer comes with the 1983 model's superior quality, reliability, workmanship and other factors that add up to product value.

Why and how

Why is auto quality improving? For one reason, because it has become apparent throughout the industry that American products must meet the challenge of tougher-than-ever competition in order to survive. It is happening because of an industry-wide effort to *make* it happen.

Auto makers did not meet their 1983 quality objectives by accident. They did it through an all-inclusive, intensive effort, when the '83 cars and trucks were just gleams in

their designers' eyes

A basic element of the '83 quality campaign was the creation of reliability teams to study historical failure modes. They then developed processing methods to eliminate those failures. These teams included representatives of design, engineering, manufacturing, assembly, service and supplier areas who followed their respective specialities through every verification test leading to the release of the complete vehicle. This strengthened the interaction between all activities and ensured that performance of every piece of the vehicle was the best it could possibly be

Building quality into '83 vehicles began with the vehicle's design, and continued through the manufacturing process.

New "management tools," such as project centers, were used to manage human and material resources, combining a company's best talent and technology under the direction of a proven manager who was supported by a well-defined procedure for making product decisions each step in the car's development.

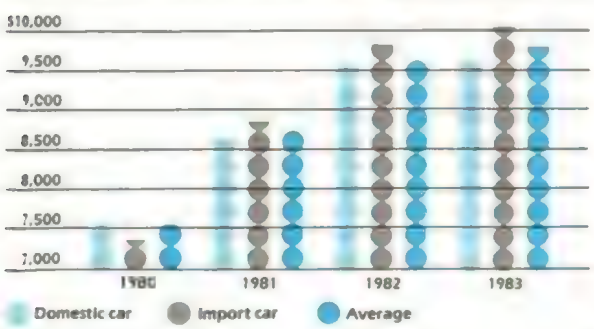
Specific '83 quality standards were set, just as objectives were established, for cost, fuel economy and safety. Feasibility of the design and manufacturing process were verified at key stages in the development cycle. The staffs for engineering, product planning, manufacturing, purchasing, service, quality and productivity formally "signed off" on every key stage of the product development cycle. The idea was to make sure every aspect of the manufacturing process was capable of meeting design intent

Computers played a major role in 1983 auto quality by helping companies decide very early in the design stage how to engineer a product to get maximum quality, durability and reliability.

Put to the test

As each 1983 car and truck component was refined in the engineering departments, extensive tests were run—in

Average expenditure per new car



A basic element of the '83 quality campaign was the creation of reliability teams to study historical failure modes

laboratories, on proving grounds and actual roadways

Individual components and systems were subjected to thorough test programs utilizing state-of-the-art computer-controlled laboratory techniques and such advanced testing methods as computer-aided theoretical analysis and animated modal analysis.

Reliability testing laboratories specializing in simulation of on-the-road vehicle tests focused on vehicle noise; vibration and harshness; chassis components and structure; heating, ventilation and air conditioning; brakes, wheels, tires and bushings.

Special attention was made to eliminate objectionable interior noise, excessive seat or steering-wheel vibrations, and rough ride characteristics.

Special "reverberant rooms" checked out materials to determine which were best suited for use on floor pans and between passenger and engine compartments.

Vibration-analysis engineers studied the properties of vehicle body/chassis systems to locate "weak" spots in designs and correct them

Tests on mechanical components and systems determined the effects of high and low temperature, salt spray, dust and humidity on them. This enabled engineers to predict the life span of components under various environmental conditions and to pinpoint weak areas

Chassis structural tests were conducted on heavy load-bearing structures such as frames, suspension and bracketry for supporting bodies and engines

Laboratories evaluated climate-control systems, accurately measuring the heat-transfer characteristics of components such as radiators, heater cores, evaporators, compressors, condensers and oil coolers

Cradle to grave

After '83 model design and manufacturing processes were tried and tested for top quality, "pilot production" runs were conducted to verify that all ingredients were in place—proper tools, machinery and assembly processes. This permitted potential problems to be isolated, and steps taken to correct them prior to the start of actual production Hot tests—computerized functional checks on engines—are performed before the engines are shipped to vehicle assembly plants. Computerized test stands simulate operating conditions and verify transmission readiness for installation in vehicles. Electronic gauges check critical dimensions of crankshafts before installation

Another giant boost to the quality effort comes from

What is needed in a time when people are keeping their cars longer, is a car people can be proud of longer. That's why, in 65 plants across the country, over 1000 Employee Involvement Groups have been established by Ford Motor Company and the UAW.

Their goal? Build the highest quality cars and trucks in the world. So you'll buy the results of their labor instead of someone else's. For example, members of this group at the Ford Lorain Assembly Plant set out to protect the 1983 Cougar's aerodynamic new body. Months before the first car was due to roll off the assembly line. They knew if their new Cougar was going to survive the rigors of the real world, it had to have a tough skin. So working with Ford management and engineers,

Lorain employees used their on-the-job experience to help set up new computer-guided spray equipment. A system specifically designed to apply paint and primer more uniformly to the Cougar's dramatic new shape. Thus enhancing the quality of the car's finish as well as its looks. And that's only one example of 129 employee-inspired quality improvements adopted by Ford management on the new 1983 Cougar. Employees speaking and management listening. Another reason Ford Motor Company achieved the highest quality rating of any major American car or truck maker. A fact based on a national survey measuring things gone wrong conducted among 11,000 people owning Ford and competitive 1982 new vehicles.

Flaw Fighters.

Ford
Mercury
Lincoln
Ford Trucks
Ford Tractors

Quality is Job 1.

Ford

computer-assisted machinery such as robots, which are highly dependable. They handle monotonous, difficult jobs with ease, and have the consistency to assure that quality that is designed into the vehicle is built into it at the plant.

Computers are used to assure constant paint flow and a more consistent atomization of paint, for a more even paint finish than ever before, while the precision and repeatability of a robot's performance eliminates the deficiencies of manual painting.

Fit and finish

How are auto manufacturers assuring that so-called "fit and finish" are at a high level in their 1983 products?

They use electronic robots to perform more than 2,000 welds on each vehicle body. Lasers scan front ends, door frames and tail assemblies to an accuracy of 3mm.

They sand, rub, degrease and clean thoroughly all metal before the first drop of paint is sprayed on, to give a high-gloss luster and help provide stronger adherence of primer coat to metal for rust prevention.

They apply primer coats to metal through an electrostatic paint process in which the body is given a negative charge and primer paint is given a positive charge. When the car comes in contact with paint, the two poles are magnetically attracted to each other and the primer is drawn into cavities and crevasses.

They apply paint through special systems that employ centrifugal force to separate paint, and use a jet stream to blow paint into a fine mist. Special high-density paints are used for a thicker, stronger high-gloss surface that helps resist chips and scratches.

They apply an additional sealer coat to interior metal, then inject wax into body cavities to provide further anti-corrosion protection and to mute road noise. They spray on the most newly-developed smooth urethane stone-chip protection along the underside of the exterior to help protect exposed paint surfaces against road salt and rocks.

The '83 models have special fasteners and bolted-together steel reinforcements along with stronger welds, resulting in an instrument panel that's more rigid, holds in place better and is free from squeaks and rattles.

A new car may cost less than you think

	1980	1983
Average expenditure per new car	$7,593	$9,685
20% down payment	$1,518	$1,937
Balance to finance	$6,075	$7,748
Monthly cost of financing, 48 months	$169 at 15%	$203 at 11.9%
Fuel expense per month, 1,250 miles of driving (15,000 miles annually) at $1.25 per gallon	$71 at 21.8 MPG	$60 at 26 MPG
Finance payment + fuel cost per month, 48 months	$240	$263

Electronic robots perform more than 2,000 welds on each vehicle body

The Deming System

Statistical process control is another important quality tool used in producing 1983 cars, trucks and components.

The man behind the concept is Dr. W. Edwards Deming, a prominent American statistician and the world's foremost authority on quality control techniques. He is a consultant to U.S. auto companies and suppliers which are applying the Deming System to operations from manufacturing, inspecting, storing and transporting of parts to the final assembly of vehicles.

The system prevents quality problems before they happen by statistical sampling through each critical step of the production process. Manufacturers can determine that they are turning out uniform products that do not deviate from the design standard—rather than simply checking products after they are made.

The result is improvement in quality and productivity of vehicles and parts such as engine camshafts, small motors, alternators, brake drums, seat tracks and body panel fits. The bottom line is increased product value.

People resources

No matter how much the auto makers are in step with new technologies and developments, it remains an industry of people. Today, auto companies are working under policies that recognize that imagination, ingenuity and creativity are widely distributed throughout the work force. So-called "people involvement" groups are in action in plants, engineering centers, offices and sales operations.

One such group set out to ensure the highest quality of a new 1983 aerodynamic body months before the first one was due to roll off the assembly line. Working with management and engineers, the assembly employees used their on-the-job experience to help set up a new computer-guided spray system, specially designed to apply paint and primer more uniformly to the car's new shape, thereby enhancing its finish as well as its look.

This is just one example of the collaborative atmosphere that has been created to produce quality cars and trucks for 1983—and the future.

[Continued on page S38]

AMC

American Motors delivers a great idea.

The Eagle began with a great idea. A vehicle that combined the luxury and efficiency of a 2-wheel drive automobile with the traction and security of 4-wheel drive. Through careful planning and engineering, the Eagle has fulfilled its purpose. Because Eagle delivers more room than a sub-compact, and can provide you with luxury options like six-way power seats, power windows and leather interior.

The value of quality.

Today more than ever, getting the maximum value for your dollar is critical. And nothing offers greater value to the car owner than product quality. The kind of quality that AMC builds into every Eagle they make. The kind of quality that will stand up to rough driving conditions. Why demand so much? Because the Eagle was designed to do things and go places no ordinary car would dare. And to live up to that promise it's got to be tough.

Superior technology makes the difference.

Other vehicles have 2-wheel/4-wheel drive capability but none are as technologically advanced as the Eagle's Select Drive System, because Select Drive is the industry's only full-time 4-wheel drive system. That means that in an Eagle you can count on the traction and security of all 4 wheels all the time, on good roads or bad, even at highway speeds.

The exclusive Select Drive System is standard on all Eagles. Without leaving your seat you can switch from the economy and efficiency of 2-wheel drive to the power and performance of full-time 4-wheel drive whenever you want it or need it.

Functional elegance.

The Eagle can get you to places ordinary cars can only dream about, and it'll take you there in comfort and luxury. The exterior styling is sleek and contemporary. The interior is spacious and luxurious. And the attention to detail is prominent throughout. There's a full line of models and packages to choose from, and each one of them puts the Eagle in a class of its own.

SX/4 — the all around athlete.

There's a very sporty member of the Eagle family, it's the SX/4. Sleek in styling and aerodynamic by design, the SX/4 is quick and trim. It has an eager 2.5 liter, 4-cyl. engine, 4-speed floor shift, reclining buckets, power steering and brakes and a desire to prove itself. For even more punch you can add an optional 4.2 liter, 6-cyl. engine and 5-speed manual transmission with over-drive. It's the world's only sports machine with Select Drive, a system that lets you switch from the efficiency of 2-wheel drive to 4-wheel drive traction and action.

We mean business.

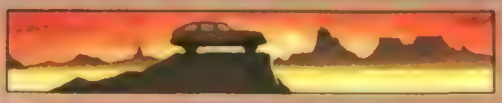
The quality of engineering and superior workmanship that goes into the making of an Eagle will stand up to even the roughest roads and conditions. And at American Motors we back up our vehicles with our exceptional Buyer Protection Plan* and the industry's only full 12-month/12,000 mile warranty. And because we have such confidence in our quality and materials, we can even offer a full 5-year No Rust Thru Warranty.

At American Motors, when it comes to building quality cars, we mean business.

FOR THE WET

FOR THE WHITE

FOR THE WINDING

FOR THE WILD


FOR THE WARM

FOR THE WEEKEND

FOR THE WALLET

W is for Eagle Wagon. And for the wherever. Because Eagle is the only automobile in the world that lets you go from 2-wheel drive to full-time 4-wheel drive at the flick of a switch. 2-wheel drive for high mileage on the highway. 4-wheel drive for worry-free traction and security when the roads weave, the weather worsens, or when you just want to wander where there is no road.

And Eagle's well-appointed interior makes the going all the more wonderful. Why not see the 1983 Eagle Wagon today. Wherever you're going, whatever the weather, it'll fit you to a **W.**

SAFETY IS A SNAP

The 2-wheel/4-wheel drive EAGLE

FROM AMERICAN MOTORS

*Optional 5-speed stick. Use these figures for comparison. Your results may differ due to driving speed, weather conditions and trip length. Highway and California figures lower.

Renault

Renault and American Motors have made a firm commitment to building quality automobiles. And it's a unique kind of quality. Because it combines European technology with American manufacturing know-how. An excellent example is the American-built Renault Alliance. Its outstanding quality helped make it Motor Trend magazine's 1983 Car of the Year.

And the experts at Motor Trend are not the only people impressed with Alliance's quality. Car buyers have made Alliance a resounding sales success. Since its introduction, Renault Alliance has grown to 7th in sales ranking in its class, outselling 15 established cars in that class. And other knowledgeable publications besides Motor Trend have also heaped praise on Alliance.

Here are some examples:

"If we were some other magazine, this would be our car of the year."
CAR AND DRIVER

"...the cars we saw looked more like hand-built, custom-painted automobiles as opposed to volume-production cars."
AUTOWEEK

"...the linkage is so precise and smooth and the controls so well-placed that shifting is a pleasure."
ROAD & TRACK

"If we were the kind of magazine that handed out Best Car of the Year awards, the Renault Alliance would be it."
POPULAR MECHANICS

"The Renault Alliance represents a blending of compact dimensions, surprising creature comfort, excellent fuel economy, good looks, and very pleasing over-the-road behavior that ought to have the various Japanese importers talking to themselves."
CAR AND DRIVER

"Readers of *Consumer Reports* will love it."
AUTOWEEK

"Nothing seems to have been overlooked, either in the design stage tooling or assembly. Everything just flat works."
POPULAR MECHANICS

"...very high marks for road control and compliance."
ROAD & TRACK

"On the coldest of mornings with a wind chill hovering around 0° F, the engine fires up first shot...Cold drive-off is excellent, with no stuttering, lurching or stalling."
POPULAR MECHANICS

"...even the most demanding driver would have a hard time finding anything bad to say about the Renault Alliance."
POPULAR MECHANICS

Of course, Motor Trend had wonderful things to say, too. For example:

"The Renault Alliance holds at least one trump card over each of its competitors, be it price, package efficiency, styling, quality or economy."
MOTOR TREND

There are many other magazine quotes praising Alliance. But praise from the press—and Alliance's sales success—aren't the only evidence of the Renault/American Motors commitment to quality. Far from it. There are Renault's other products, too. Like sporty Fuego. Affordable 18i. And fun-to-drive Le Car. Also, Renault and American Motors have so much confidence in the quality of their cars that they back them with the exclusive Buyer Protection Plan* With the only full 12-month, 12,000-mile warranty that covers virtually every part even if it just wears out.

THE CAR:

New Renault Alliance. We set out to build the best small car in the world.

Affordable European technology. Our goal was an alliance of technology and affordability. Our achievement is Alliance, a fine European sedan–built in America–for the price of a four-passenger econobox.

Comfort for five. Alliance has eight inches more rear seat hip room than Escort. To comfortably ride five, not four. And with the front seats on pedestals, rear seat passengers can slide their feet forward and enjoy the ride.

Inspired performance. Front-wheel drive. Fully independent suspension. Power front disc brakes. Rack and pinion steering. Electronic ignition. All are standard.

Alliance's 1.4 litre engine is electronically fuel injected. Small wonder, then, that Alliance produces such outstanding mileage.**

52 EST HWY | 37 EPA EST MPG**

Alliance 2-door

$5595*

Built in America. To last. Alliance is covered by American Motors' exclusive Buyer Protection Plan.® With the only full 12-month, 12,000-mile warranty that covers virtually every part even if it just wears out. Plus a five-year No Rust-Thru Limited Warranty.™

Renault Alliance. The Alliance of quality and affordability is here. At Renault and American Motors dealers.

RENAULT
American Motors

THE AWARDS:

Motor Trend experts name Alliance 1983 Car of the Year.

Finalists were judged for styling and design, quality, comfort, ride and drive, handling, fuel economy, performance and dollar value.

"The Renault Alliance is the best blend of innovation, economy, and fun-to-drive we have seen in almost a decade. Moreover, it represents a uniquely successful blend of outstanding European engineering and American manufacturing know-how."
–Tony Swan, Editor
Motor Trend Magazine

And the European version of Alliance was named Europe's 1982 Car of the Year by 52 journalists from 16 countries.

Alliance DL 4-door

SAFETY IS A SNAP

*Manufacturer's suggested retail price for the Alliance 2-door. Price does not include tax, license, destination charges and other optional or regionally required equipment. **Compare 1983 EPA estimates for the Alliance 2-door with estimated MPG for other cars. Your actual mileage depends on speed, trip length and weather. Actual highway mileage and CA figures will probably be lower.

Ford

Turbo-Coupe is a fuel injected, turbo-charged five-speed Thunderbird with sophisticated running gear, performance compound tires, and seats that are more than a place to sit

Sophisticated power, judiciously applied.

The engine.
A 2.3L high performance overhead cam four cylinder engine with five main bearings, forged aluminum pistons, oil cooler and tuned intake manifold

The turbocharger.
The "blow-through" design turbocharger is upstream from the injectors and throttle plate for immediate throttle response. Full boost provides 145 HP at 4,600 RPM based on SAE Standard J-1349

The electronic fuel injection system with EEC-IV.

The fuel injection system has a port-mounted injector ahead of each intake valve. The system is run by a state-of-the-art micro-processor-based engine control system called EEC-IV. It adjusts the timing and fuel-air mixture for quick starting, optimum power, response and efficiency.

The 5-speed transmission.
The gear ratios are carefully calibrated for any turn, any straightaway. And the brake and accelerator pedals are positioned to facilitate heel-and-toe downshifting

Balance and poise on the road.

Aerodynamics/airflow management.
Turbo Coupe has one of the lowest drag coefficients of any four passenger high-performance car in America. Moreover, it reduces lift on the front and on the rear for directional stability and cornering agility It's the difference between mere aerodynamics and what we call "airflow management."

Gas-filled struts and shocks for ride and handling.
The Turbo Coupe's front struts and rear shocks are low-pressure charged with nitrogen to suppress the foaming of hydraulic fluid during rapid bumps or exuberant driving. The result is a ride that's smooth, yet responsive when you need it

Plus two additional rear shocks for pure handling.
Turbo Coupe has two additional shocks mounted longitudinally between the rear axle and body for a "car-on-rails" feel through the turns

Performance tires.
Turbo Coupe mounts Goodyear Eagle P205/70HR 14 performance tires for remarkable wet or dry adhesion

Man. Machine. Unity.

Seats you sit in. Not on.
Turbo Coupe's seats give you adjustable under and side thigh supports, lumbar support, seat back angle, and firm side supports to hold you sideways as well as up and down.

Three command centers.
The driving center puts steering wheel, light controls and gearshift at your fingertips. The environment center clusters radio and climate control within easy reach. And the console center nestles electric window, seat and mirror controls next to your right thigh. The controls are where your hands want them to be

In sum.
An engine that's rated at 145 horsepower, yet achieves 33 est. HWY, (22) EPA est. mpg.* A harmonious blend of man and machine—and handling with no surprises. This is a driver's car in every respect.

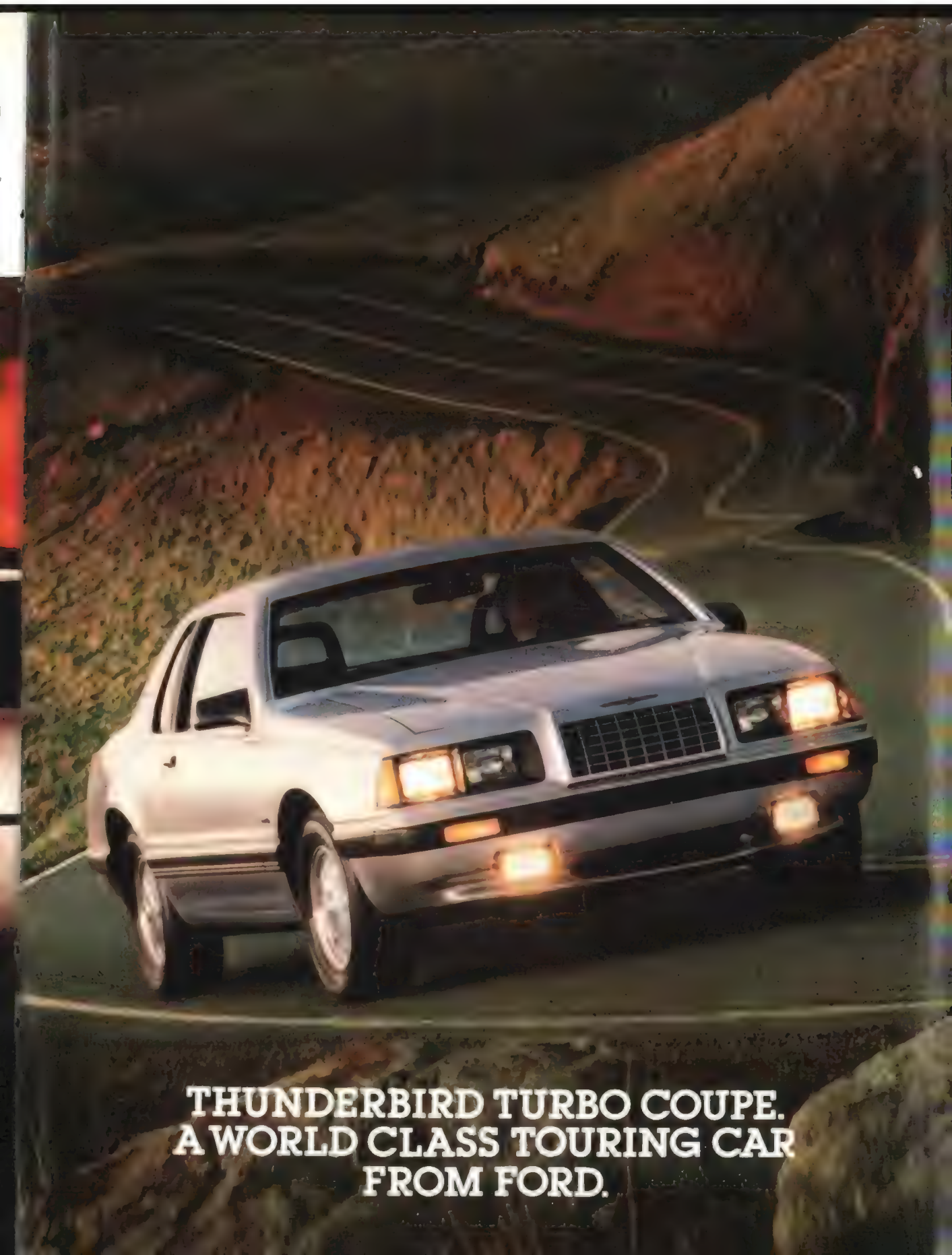
One final bit of information.
Fewer than 10,000 Turbo Coupes are scheduled to be built this year. Now you know what to do. Quickly. Call 1-800-772-2100 for more information

*For comparison. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, distance and weather. Actual highway mileage lower.

Get it together, buckle up.

Ford

THUNDERBIRD TURBO COUPE


THUNDERBIRD TURBO COUPE.
A WORLD CLASS TOURING CAR
FROM FORD.

Lincoln-Mercury

Established notions of what an automobile should and should not be have been redefined at Lincoln-Mercury. While some are content to mimic whatever the latest trends happen to be, Lincoln-Mercury is setting its own course with vehicles that lead the industry, rather than simply follow it.

The new Cougar and the soon to be released '84 Topaz are striking examples of this commitment. Their aerodynamically styled forms set them well apart from the mainstream. They offer state-of-the-art technology in terms of aerodynamics, advanced electronic engine controls and suspension componentry. They are built with a total dedication to driving enjoyment.

Aerodynamic excellence.
The fluid styling of Lincoln-Mercury's new models is evidence that efficient doesn't have to mean unattractive. Lynx, Cougar, LN7, Marquis and Topaz represent more than 1,400 hours of wind tunnel testing for aerodynamic efficiency. The reason for this emphasis on aerodynamics is simple: the more easily a vehicle slices through the air, the less horsepower and subsequently less fuel it will require.

The new Marquis with its aerodynamic drag coefficient of only .37 requires a mere 6.6 aero-horsepower to overcome air resistance at 50 mph.

This also means that a car that is good aerodynamically will provide greater stability when faced with disturbing wind currents on the highway. And naturally, wind noise is effectively minimized inside the passenger compartment by allowing the air to flow freely across the exterior of the vehicle.

Engineering integrity.
Some of the most important functional components of our vehicles are to be experienced; not seen. Carefully tuned nitrogen pressurized struts and shock absorbers provide Cougar, Marquis and Continental with a controlled ride even on rough roads. Precise rack-and-pinion steering delivers sensitive road feel on Continental, LN7, Lynx, Marquis, Capri, Cougar and Topaz. The variable ratio power assist feature on Cougar's and Continental's steering delivers confident steering feel for any situation from hard cornering to curb-side parking. But one difference you will definitely be able to see is the halogen headlamp system which is standard on all Lincoln-Mercury models.

For those who demand more in terms of handling, LN7, Lynx, Capri, Topaz and Cougar are available with specially tuned performance suspensions. Specific shock valving, firmer spring rates and Michelin TRX tires and styled aluminum wheels are included in these specially engineered packages.

Quality: A blend of human talent and advanced technology.
The quest for excellence in Lincoln-Mercury automobiles starts well before the assembly process ever begins. Quality/Reliability teams consisting of employees from design, engineering, manufacturing, assembly and service examine all phases of the design and manufacturing process to eliminate potential concerns prior to the assembly of even the test vehicles. Outside suppliers are also important partners in quality assurance programs.

This commitment to quality and driving enjoyment is evident throughout the entire Lincoln-Mercury range of small, mid-size and full-size automobiles. Whether the need is for sporty personal transportation, a versatile family runabout, or the total luxury and room of a 6-passenger vehicle, Lincoln-Mercury has an automobile to satisfy the need.

EVEN FROM A COLDLY RATIONAL, STRICTLY ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVE, IT'S BEAUTIFUL.

AERODYNAMICS: Observe the rounded contours. They help improve the aerodynamics of the Cougar. The hood is sloped to help slice through the wind. The integral aircraft-inspired Cougar doors are designed to create a clean, wind-efficient surface.

ERGONOMICS: It's the science of placing things where they can be most easily reached or seen by the driver. Cougar is an excellent example of how it should be done. Including options, you can have 27 driving, comfort, and entertainment controls within fourteen inches of the steering wheel.

TRACKING: The rear track has been increased 1.5" to give the car a wider road stance. The new Nitracushion suspension, developed from our Continental technology, helps take potholes in stride.

A car that's designed to please the eye is no longer enough. It must also please the mind. Cougar is designed to do both. Beautifully.

For your copy of the Cougar catalog and the name of your nearest Lincoln-Mercury Dealer, call us toll-free 1-800-MERCFAX. Or write: Lincoln-Mercury, P.O. Box 1254, Troy, MI 48099.

MERCURY COUGAR

Get it together-buckle up.

LINCOLN-MERCURY DIVISION Ford

Dodge

Something is really going on at Dodge.

In a nutshell, that something could be called paying attention. Attention to the enormous changes that have taken place in the automotive world in recent years. Attention to how those changes affect you as a driver. And attention to how we can help you adapt to changed circumstances both now and in the future.

Smart people. Hard problems.

Clearly, old rules no longer apply. The days are gone forever when a car company can build 'em longer, lower and flashier and sell 'em like roasted chestnuts from a street corner stand. Today's realities demand fresh solutions. At Dodge, we've got very smart people thinking hard and fast about very hard problems. Because in the last few years, more things have been demanded of a car than ever before.

Filling niches.

Dodge today is bustling with activity. We're finding niches where a need exists but there's no vehicle in existence to fill it. We got to work to fill those niches with things like our new transportation concept for '84 that's a spacious, efficient, all-purpose vehicle. We'll also be introducing Daytona, a new turbo-charged high tech sports car that'll blow the so-called competition right out of your mind. We're improving performance with help from robots, computers and the latest technologies. And, for 1983, our cars have achieved the best estimated Corporate Average Fuel Economy of the "Big Three." Paying attention has paid off for you in warranty protection. We're so confident that we know what we're doing, we're still the only car company willing to back its cars for 5 years or 50,000 miles.* That's putting your money where your mouth is.

DODGE DAYTONA TURBO Z

DODGE 400 CONVERTIBLE

Pay attention; you owe it to yourself.

We were first to bring back the convertible. And Omni was America's first domestic-built, fuel-efficient, front-wheel-drive car.** We've got the Shelby Charger that goes 0-50 in just 5.5 seconds,† but goes for only $8,290‡ And with Aries K, we haven't forgotten the American family. Built to last, at $6,577‡ Aries coupe is the lowest-priced front-wheel-drive six-passenger car in America.††

What does it all mean? It means something is going on at Dodge. In fact, lots of things. Things that you owe it to yourself to take a look at. It means we're paying attention. To you. Maybe it's time for you to pay attention to us.

*

**

†

‡

††

THE AMERICAN DREAM.

INTRODUCING DODGE 600.
A HIGH-TECH CAR BUILT BY AMERICANS, FOR AMERICANS, THAT AMERICANS CAN ACTUALLY AFFORD.

30 STANDARD FEATURES FOR $8841.*

SIX-PASSENGER SEATING

TRANSVERSE-MOUNTED 2.2 LITER ENGINE 32 EST. HWY., 24 EPA EST. MPG**

5/50 PROTECTION PLAN***

FRONT-WHEEL DRIVE

3-SPEED AUTOMATIC TRANSMISSION

POWER BRAKES

POWER RACK AND PINION STEERING

STEEL-BELTED RADIALS

HALOGEN HEADLAMPS

MAINTENANCE-FREE BATTERY

DUAL SIDE MIRRORS

QUIETNESS PACKAGE

POWER TRUNK LID RELEASE

AM RADIO

DIGITAL CLOCK

INSTRUMENT PANEL MESSAGE CENTER

LOCKING ELECTRIC FUEL-FILLER DOOR RELEASE

PROTECTIVE BUMPER RUB STRIPS

FOLDING CENTER ARM REST

LUXURIOUS CLOTH INTERIOR

FULL CUT-PILE CARPETING

LUXURY STEERING WHEEL

FULL COURTESY LAMPS

CARPETED TRUNK

PADDED DOOR TRIM PANELS

BODY SIDE MOLDINGS

INTERIOR HOOD RELEASE

PASS/FLASH SYSTEM

CHIME PACKAGE

REAR COMPARTMENT ASHTRAYS

Dodge

AMERICA'S DRIVING MACHINES

*Sticker price excludes taxes and destination charges.
**Use EPA est. mpg for comparison. Your mileage may vary depending on speed, weather and trip length. Actual hwy. mpg probably lower.
***5 years/50,000 miles, whichever comes first. Limited warranty on engine and powertrain and outer body rust-through. Deductible may be required. SEE DEALER FOR DETAILS.

BUCKLE UP FOR SAFETY

BUY OR LEASE AT YOUR DODGE DEALER.

DODGE 600

Dodge Trucks

At Dodge, we build trucks according to a very simple philosophy. Build 'em tight. Build 'em right. Build 'em tough.

Dodge trucks are built Ram Tough. And this way of looking at trucks pays off. Last year, America bought 37% more Dodge trucks than the year before—a bigger sales increase than any domestic truck manufacturer.[1] So to all you Dodge truckers out there, thanks. As for the rest of you, here's why:

Dodge builds a Ram Tough truck for any purpose. Pickups of all sizes. Sporty models, too. Wagons and vans. And Ramchargers. 4x4s and 4x2s, to boot.

We're making Dodge tough. Too tough to pass up.

Dodge pickups. Tough on the competition.

Our Ram Miser, with a standard 6-cyl. engine, and a box that stretches all the way out to 6'5", has a payload capability of 1,465 pounds. It's a full-sized pickup, all right. But it comes with a small truck price. At $5,989,[2] this hard-working pickup is easy on your hard-earned money.

For a small pickup, our Ram 50 is big on features. And at $5,665,[2] it's America's lowest-priced pickup.[3] Then at the top of the line, our Power Ram 50, with turbo-diesel power—nobody in America had a turbo-diesel before us.

Or consider Rampage. One sporty little pickup. And the one and only pickup on the road with a 5 year/50,000 mile limited warranty.[4] So you can work it hard. Even if what you're working at is a little play.

If you're hauling up to 3,500 lbs., try our Ram D250 with optional payload or our Ram D350 Dyna-Trac, for payloads up to 5,690 lbs.

The Wagon Leader.

If you've got a family of Little Leaguers, team up on a Dodge Mini Ram. It's *the* station wagon—priced along with conventional full-size station wagons, yet has more people room. And with more cargo space and with more miles per tankful.[5] Plus better driving and parking visibility than conventional full-size station wagons.

In the last model year, Dodge and other Chrysler Corporation van wagons outsold the field.[6] For lots of good reasons.

Dodge vans. Wider open spaces.

If the job calls for a van, we've got three Ram Van body lengths to choose from. With payload packages all the way up to 4,680 pounds. And cargo lengths go all the way out to 190.2". The industry's longest.

Plus wider open spaces. Because Dodge also gives you the widest standard side door opening. 49.3" wide by 47.2" high. Somehow, no other van quite measures up.

Dodge Ramchargers. Tough towing.

Dodge has got a lot of pull with the towing set, too. Up to 5,000 pounds maximum towing capacity, optional.

Our Ramcharger Two 4X2[7] and its 4X4 running mate match up a hefty 5.2 liter V-8 with an easy-riding 3-speed automatic transmission. All standard equipment. Just hitch 'er up. And move it out.

Dodge trucks are Ram Tough. All over. So, this year, put your money where the muscle is. In a tough Dodge pickup, wagon, van or Ramcharger. We're tough. And getting tougher.

[1]Based on 1982 calendar year sales.
[2]Base sticker price. Title, taxes and destination charges extra.
[3]Based on a comparison of base list prices. STANDARD EQUIPMENT LEVELS VARY.
[4]5 years or 50,000 miles, whichever comes first. Limited warranty on powertrain (a deductible may be required) and outer body rust-through. See dealer for details.
[5]19 EPA est. MPG. 25 est. hwy. Use EPA est. MPG for comparison. Your mileage may vary, depending on speed, weather and trip length. Hwy. mileage and CA est. lower. Greater range based on larger fuel capacity.
[6]Based on comparison of 1982 model year passenger van retail deliveries.
[7]Not available in CA.

DODGE RAM MISER. America's lowest-priced full-size pickup.[3] Buy a truck, not a toy!

Get Ram Tough values during
DODGE PROSPECTOR DAYS!

The range of savings is dramatic...up to $1000 on a wide selection of Prospector option packages specially created for these and many other '83 Ram Tough trucks. And they are options most truck owners prefer. For example:

RAM PICKUPS. SAVE $1000.† Select light package—bright rear bumper, wheel covers and low-mount mirrors—30-gallon fuel tank—oil and temperature gauges with trip odometer—tinted glass—intermittent wipers—Ram hood ornament—AM radio—Royal SE decor—air conditioning. With special Dark Brown metallic two-tone paint.

RAMCHARGER. SAVE $1000.† Start with convenience package—digital clock—oil and temperature gauges—trip odometer—sunscreen glass—bright grille and hood ornament—bright low-mount mirrors and wheel covers. Add Royal SE decor—front bumper guards—AM/FM stereo w/electronic tuning—special Dark Brown metallic two-tone paint—air conditioning—power door locks and windows—speed control.

RAM WAGONS. SAVE $1000.† Choose the convenience package—bright front and rear bumpers—digital electronic clock—36-gallon fuel tank—oil gauge and odometer—bright grille and quad headlamps with halogen high beams—bright wheel covers and low-mount mirrors—bumper guards and nerf strips—Royal SE decor—AM/FM stereo radio (manual)—air conditioning. With special Dark Brown metallic two-tone paint.

RAM VANS. SAVE $575.† Choose hi-back bucket seats—tinted glass—convenience package—36-gallon fuel tank—full gauges—bright low-mount mirrors, wheel covers, front and rear bumpers—intermittent wipers—exterior appearance package—AM radio. With special Dark Brown metallic two-tone paint.

RAMPAGE. SAVE $200†... ON ONLY TRUCK IN AMERICA WITH 5-YEAR/50,000-MILE PROTECTION PLAN.* Get white side wall tires—light package—dual remote mirrors—power steering—AM radio—cargo box side rails.

RAM 50. SAVE $125† ON AMERICA'S LOWEST-PRICED PICKUP.** Choose two-tone tape—bright step bumper—low-mount mirrors—box top molding—sliding window—clock—wheel trim rings.

RAM 50

RAM TOUGH

Dodge Trucks

A deductible may be required.

Chrysler-Plymouth

For a number of very good reasons, Chrysler is truly on the leading edge of American automotive technology. This fall, Chrysler-Plymouth will introduce the Chrysler Laser, an all-new front-wheel-drive, fuel-injected, turbo-charged sports car. Its credentials are breathtaking with performance and luxury designed to rival many of Europe's finest.

By year's end, the innovative Plymouth Voyager will launch a whole new concept in transportation. Voyager will be the only front-wheel-drive wagon in America that can seat seven passengers, or carry more luggage than a conventional station wagon. Yet it will offer excellent visibility and will handle and park like a passenger car.

These are the newest in a growing family of high mileage, front-wheel-drive American-built Chrysler-Plymouth vehicles—all backed by the only 5 year, 50,000 mile protection plan in the industry! Nobody else gives you that.

Chrysler-Plymouth puts the pleasure back in driving.
Chrysler-Plymouth put the fun back into driving with the introduction of the luxurious LeBaron convertible, now available in a classic "woody" Town & Country version. LeBaron convertibles combine the thrill of open air driving with today's advanced technology.

For 1983 Chrysler offers a whole new series of technologically advanced front-wheel-drive Chrysler sedans: The E Class, the all-new front-wheel-drive New Yorker, the Executive Sedan, and the Limousine. These state-of-the-art sedans combine luxury and riding comfort with space age electronics that include a unique Electronic Voice Alert system, and Electronic Engine Computer. An Electronic Trip Computer is also available.

As Chrysler-Plymouth moves into the future, it is committed to youthful products like Horizon, and the sporty Turismo 2.2, which hugs the road with power and style, and goes from 0-50 in 5.8 seconds.[2]

Chrysler-Plymouth stands for solid value.
Value you find in cars like the Plymouth Horizon which led the way to Chrysler's 45 billion miles of front-wheel drive experience. Cars like Plymouth Reliant K's, America's lowest priced six-passenger sedans and wagons.

Starting with the 1982 introduction of the luxurious LeBaron series, Chrysler brand sales gained more than any carline from GM or Ford. More than the Imports.[3]

Built for lasting quality backed with 5/50 protection.[1]
The new front-wheel drive Chryslers and Plymouths are designed and built with the aid of computers. Computer Aided Testing helps assure their reliability for years to come.

They're built by highly skilled American workers—workers who care—in some of the world's most technologically advanced plants.

They're assembled with approximately 3,000 computer-assisted robot welds for consistent strength throughout the body.

This advanced computer technology has resulted in Chrysler's commitment to new levels of quality.

Although the rest of the industry talks about quality, only Chrysler-Plymouth backs every new American-built car with protection on the engine and power train and the entire outer body against rust-through for 5 years or 50,000 miles.[1] See your dealer for details.

Quality engineered to be the best.

[1] 5 years or 50,000 miles, whichever comes first. Limited warranties. Deductible may be required.
[2] When equipped with optional tires and wheels.
[3] Comparisons based on 1982 Calendar Year sales.

PLYMOUTH VOYAGER

CHRYSLER NEW YORKER

For 1983
THE CHRYSLER LEBARON SERIES
They are like no other cars in America, Europe or Japan.

Le Baron convertible prices start at $10,995.* Town & Country Convertible as shown $15,595.* Shown in rear the classic 1948 Town & Country Convertible.

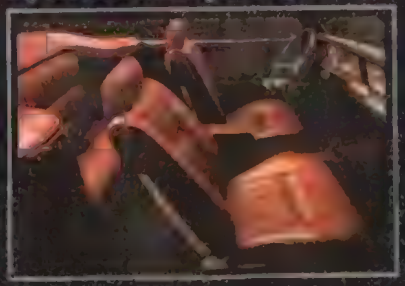
Re-introducing an American classic.

THE CHRYSLER LEBARON TOWN & COUNTRY CONVERTIBLE

Chrysler brings back the romance of the past with the luxury and technology of the present in the "woody" Town & Country Convertible. It is like no other car on the road today.

Town & Country's elegance starts with its classic "woody" styling and carries into its plush Mark Cross leather interior. No indulgence has been overlooked. Automatic transmission, power steering, power brakes and a power top are all standard features. Its advanced electronic instrumentation includes a computerized system that monitors vital performance functions.

In Town & Country, you re-discover how much fun driving can be. Its advanced front-wheel drive and iso-strut suspension give you a remarkably smooth, quiet ride whether driving on city streets or winding country roads.



Town & Country's quality is so exceptional Chrysler protects your investment for 5 years or 50,000 miles.

Chrysler protects Town & Country's engine, power train and its outer body against rust-through for 5 years or 50,000 miles. See your dealer for details.

Town & Country, an American classic in a "woody" convertible, is the ultimate luxury. With high mileage, room and exceptional protection. Buy or lease it at your Chrysler-Plymouth dealer. Buckle up for safety.

29 EST. MPG 22 EST. MPG

Chrysler

[illegible]

WE'VE RE-ENGINEERED THE AMERICAN LUXURY CAR
THE NEW CHRYSLER CORPORATION. QUALITY ENGINEERED TO BE THE BEST

Buick

Buick. The only American car company to increase sales the past 3 years in a row.
If it seems like we're blowing our own horn, you're right. But we've got a good point to make. It's no secret that the past three years have put everyone to the test. Car buyers in particular are looking hard at quality and value. Insisting that a car be right for today's conditions. And built with today's technology. In short, they want the qualities that are part of Buick's reputation. And part of the reason for our success

Then consider the wide range of choices Buick offers. There's the continued popularity of our full-size luxury models. The fantastic reception of Buick's two newest models, Skyhawk and Century. The continuing strength of Regal. The excitement of the Buick T TYPEs. And our unerring ability to integrate today's high technology with traditional Buick values

These are precisely the types of things that have kept Buick popular for so long. They are also the reasons that more and more people are turning to Buick today

The first American-built front-wheel-drive Turbo.
We've been turbocharging the 3.8 liter V-6 since 1977, and we've got it down to a science. Combine it with our long experience with front-wheel drive, and you have our Riviera T TYPE, the only American-built front-wheel-drive Turbo.

As you'd expect from Buick, our Riviera T TYPE is a fully-balanced design, that matches its turbocharged V-6 with Gran Touring suspension including stiffer spring rates. Stabilizer bars front and rear. Cast aluminum wheels. Wide steel-belted radial tires. Plus Riviera's four-wheel independent suspension. And it all integrates nicely with traditional Buick luxury, thank you.

Riviera. Official Indy Pace Car. High technology, shattering performance.
When our engineers were given the opportunity to develop the Official Pace Car for the 1983 Indianapolis 500, they took on the challenge with typical Buick dedication. The result is a one-of-a-kind Riviera Convertible with a twin turbocharged 4.1 liter V-6 engine. Both fuel injection and ignition are completely computer controlled. The resulting 410 horsepower means shattering performance

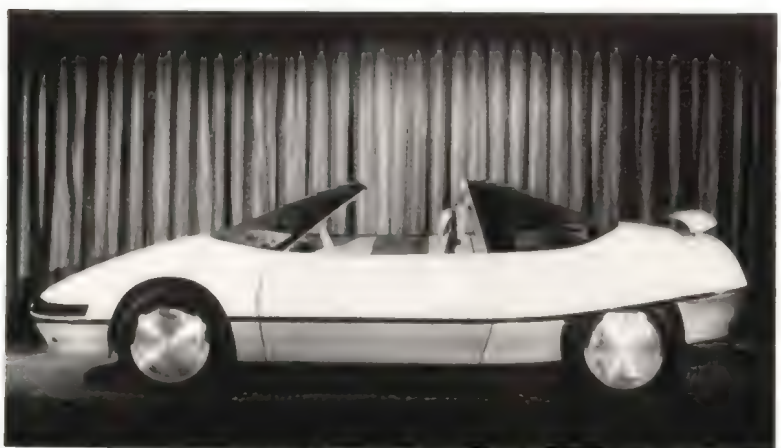
Sorry to say, this car is not for sale. But if you'll visit your Buick dealer, you'll discover its road-going counterparts: the T TYPEs.

The Buick T TYPEs. (Slower vehicles please keep to the right.)
"T" denotes touring, and the Buick T TYPEs are Grand Touring cars that speak your language. The front-wheel-drive Skyhawk, Skylark and Century T TYPEs. And the turbocharged V-6 Regal and Riviera T TYPEs. All combine tighter, flatter suspension with the quick reflexes enthusiasts demand.

We're smiling because Buick owners are smiling.
Our success comes at a time when automobile buyers are more discerning, more demanding than ever before. This is where Buick's long-standing reputation comes in. Because today's car buyer, young or old, is strongly attracted to Buick's positive image. You can see it in our growing sales. And by the smiles you see Buick owners wearing when they're driving their cars or just talking about them.

No one can accurately predict what the future will bring to Buick or the industry in general. To be sure, there will be advancements, breakthroughs, good times and bad times But through it all one thing will remain constant. Our good name. And at Buick, reputation isn't just something we ride on. It's something we build on.

NOTE: Some Buicks are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries, or affiliated companies world wide. See your Buick dealer for details.



The BUICK QUESTOR experimental model, bristling with technology, uses 14 micro-computers to test the electronics that will come to life in the cars of tomorrow.

THE TECHNOLOGY OF THE CENTURY.

THE 1983 BUICK CENTURY.

With today's technology, almost anything is possible. Computers that talk. Computers that teach. Electronics that put Wall Street right in your living room. And the Buick Century. A car so technologically advanced, it makes driving a pleasure instead of a chore.

The way Century accomplishes this is quite remarkable. There's an available electronic digital instrument panel, for example, that's a lot more than needles and dials. It tells you mph, km/h, fuel level, even how far you've traveled. All in computerized digital display.

Century's standard engine is electronically fuel injected. And connected to front-wheel drive. Its ride and handling are computer tuned. And all of this is surrounded by an aerodynamic shape that was refined in the wind tunnel, and further refined by computer.

Then there are, of course, the little things. Like an electronic tone for the ignition key and seat belt, instead of a buzzer. Why, Century is even built with robotic assembly techniques.

Happily, there remains one human quality that technology, even the technology of the Century, can never replace. The sheer pleasure of driving a Buick. And that's something you can experience at your Buick dealer now.

EST. HWY. 39 EPA EST. MPG 24

Use estimated MPG for comparison. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, distance, weather. Actual highway mileage lower. Some Buicks are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries, or affiliated companies worldwide. See your Buick dealer for details.

Official Car of the XXIIIrd Olympiad
Los Angeles 1984

BUICK

Wouldn't you really rather have a Buick?

Cadillac

What makes a Cadillac a Cadillac?
It can be summed up in a single word excellence. For over 80 years the Cadillac name has stood for excellence in its many forms. Innovative engineering. Solid comfort. Quality that endures. The Cadillac name has become a synonym for integrity. And, in doing so, the Cadillac wreath and crest has become a symbol of excellence the world over.

The pride of ownership.
It comes from knowing you made the right choice. That the luxury car you drive is one of the most advanced automobiles on the road. And one of the most respected. That is why Cadillac has traditionally been a leader in repeat ownership. And owner loyalty is one reason why Cadillac has been America's favorite luxury car for 35 consecutive years.

Quality that endures.
The 1983 Cadillacs have extensive anti-corrosion protection. Over 100 areas are specially treated. The bodies are constructed with extensive use of anti-corrosive metals. Paint is applied in an electron-charged dip that bonds paint and metal together with a magnetic-like adhesion. Doors and deck lid flanges are sealed with Plastisol. Critical metal-to-metal contact points are protected with gaskets and bi-metal moldings. Even the bumpers are specially plated with three types of metal (copper, nickel and chrome) to protect against corrosion.

That unmistakable style.
One look, and you know it's a Cadillac. The strong, clean lines. The bold cross-hatch grille. The richly-appointed interiors. The classic script insignia. There's never any doubt about what a Cadillac is ... or what it represents.

That undeniable ride.
One ride, and you know it's a Cadillac. It's everything you expect it to be ... smooth as silk ... controlled. Somewhere between the tires and you bumps disappear and holes get filled. Specially-designed acoustical insulation surrounds and isolates the passenger compartment from road and engine noise.

Roominess and comfort.
While a Cadillac is very much a pleasure to drive, it is also a pleasure to ride in. Six-footers will find ample leg and headroom in a Cadillac. And a Cadillac trunk can hold as much as seven pieces of luggage.

The luxury of choice.
Only one U.S. luxury car make offers you smooth V-8 power in fuel-injected gasoline or available Diesel power. Only one offers you a selection of two available suspensions, four available radios and a minimum of 22 available exterior paint combinations. Only Cadillac.

Some Cadillacs are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries, or affiliated companies worldwide. See your dealer for details.

Freedom from inconvenience.
Cadillac owners know. When you purchase a Cadillac, you get a lot more than just a car...you get the Cadillac service network. More than 1500 Cadillac dealerships coast to coast, dedicated to the fast, accurate and courteous handling of your needs. Whether you bought your Cadillac at that dealership or not. When you bring your car into a Cadillac dealership, you get experienced workmanship from the service technicians. Specialists who know their Cadillacs inside and out. You get the correct parts for your Cadillac. And, you get the Cadillac commitment to excellence all along the line.

Just for you.
All these years you've been doing for others.
Summer camp. Orthodontists. Ballet lessons. Tuitions.
Now it's time to do something for you... the two of you.
A beautiful new 1983 Cadillac! And it's all
you hoped it would be... in comfort... ride... and luxury.
Isn't it time you did something just for you?
See your Cadillac dealer soon.
Best of all...
it's a Cadillac
CADILLAC MOTOR CAR DIVISION U.S.A.

Chevrolet

Today's Chevrolet cars and trucks are the direct result of a Corporate investment nearly equal to the cost of putting man on the moon.

That's right.

A tremendous commitment to the American consumer that has resulted in new engines, new transmissions, new brakes, new electronic fuel metering, new suspension systems, new computer controls, and the most innovative, most advanced four-wheel-drive system in the industry.

A commitment that has brought you not just new products, but new plants, world state-of-the-art production techniques...and newly developed advanced quality-control systems.

The biggest product turnaround and leap forward in automotive history. One that has allowed Chevrolet—over the past two years—to offer American consumers more new cars and light trucks than anyone else in the world. And they are here *now*.

That's what we mean by *Today's Chevrolet*...taking charge.

We've been reshaping, redesigning, retooling and rebuilding. Not just to take charge today, but to stay in charge of the future.

Look through our family album and you'll see sophisticated, young cars. Cars that are ready to carry you into the next decade. And are prepared to take you into a new kind of performance.

Your demands, your values and your life-styles have changed. And Chevrolet is meeting all your requirements with cars that are fully capable of turning heads, turning corners and turning in some very quick zero to 60 times.

Not with just one shining example. But with a spirit that runs through all Chevrolet cars and trucks.

Today's Chevrolet is the lowest-priced diesel sold in America.

It's the only full-size car worthy of being picked by *Car and Driver* this year as one of the "Ten Best Cars" you can buy, foreign or domestic.

It's a new electronically fuel-injected, front-wheel-drive sedan, with more power and room than the top three imports.

And it's a Chevrolet that took off so rapidly in popularity it's the best-selling 2 + 2 sports coupe on the road. Topped in '83 by a new twin throttle-body-injected 5.0 Liter V-8, five-speed edition.

Today's Chevrolet is a new-size pickup truck that takes on the imports. Beats them in power with an available V-6 engine. And beats them all in sales.

And it's a new kind of off-road Chevrolet. So advanced, *4-Wheel & Off-Road* magazine named it "4X4 of the Year."

We invite you to see Today's Chevrolet. And see the direct result of a Corporate investment nearly equal to the cost of putting man on the moon.

We are USA-1. And we intend to be nothing less in the years to come.

And now just introduced, the exciting new car that *Car and Driver* has already called "The Most Advanced Production Car on the Planet."

For a look at this new driving sensation, just turn the page.

TODAY'S CHEVROLET.

A CORPORATE INVESTMENT IN TECHNOLOGY NEARLY EQUAL TO THE COST OF PUTTING MAN ON THE MOON.

BEST PRODUCTION SPORTS

THE NEW CORVETTE

The first edition of America's sports car hit the streets in 1953. And became the best production sports car in the world in 1984.

The new Corvette is the most comprehensively packaged automobile of all time, serviceable by the most extensive dealer network in the business. This is a car with advanced styling, innovative engineering, high technology, impressive quality, and comfort.

GM

CAR IN THE WORLD.

To explore driving heights never reached before, strap yourself into the new Corvette. Enter future time. And behold computer sophistication as it controls vital functions. Then monitors, calculates and transmits this data to the driver with astounding speed and precision. This technology provides better communication between man, machine and the road.

The new Corvette. It will take you places you've never been before. Which is probably why *AutoWeek* magazine suggests you "take a high-performance driving course so your ability equals the car's."

CHEVROLET IS TAKING CHARGE

Oldsmobile

Designing and engineering exciting cars that capture the American spirit is one thing. Fulfilling the comfort and quality needs and demands of a wide variety of American drivers is another. Both have become an accomplished tradition at Oldsmobile for well over three-quarters of a century.

So, today you'll see Oldsmobile drivers more varied than ever before. Yet, one thing they all have in common is an intelligent understanding of why they chose *their* Oldsmobile.

Some will talk about the Oldsmobile reputation for engineering excellence, styling and performance. Others will refer to Oldsmobile's luxury, comfort and roominess. While still others will point to efficiency, ease of maintenance, traditionally high resale value and Oldsmobile quality. With buyer knowledge like this, it's really no wonder so many buyers have chosen Olds.

Oldsmobile introduces six new "specialty" cars.

The first you'll meet on the facing page. It's the new Cutlass Ciera Holiday Coupe. With just a glance you can tell it's everything a Cutlass should be. Rich, elegant and sophisticated with traditional Cutlass value running from bumper to beautiful bumper.

And joining the Cutlass Ciera Holiday Coupe is Oldsmobile's 15th Anniversary Limited-Edition Hurst/Olds Cutlass. This road enthusiast's car returns with a brand-new "lightning rod" triple shifter. There's no other production car like it.

If your taste swings more to the European, Oldsmobile is there with the Cutlass Ciera and Omega ES series cars. And if you're looking for a new sporty Olds, see and drive Olds Firenza GT.

Oldsmobile offers a wide choice of models.

With over 30 exciting models to choose from, it's evident that Oldsmobile's wide range of sizes and styles has contributed greatly to Olds' popularity. There are sporty, fun-to-drive cars like Olds Firenza. Solid value cars like Omega. And Cutlass Supreme, the car which has become America's most popular mid-size...by design. And Cutlass Ciera...this car of the future is built on its past. And the car that didn't forget the family...Olds Delta 88. Plus the luxurious Ninety-Eight Regency and the personal luxury car...Toronado.

Along with a great choice in models, is a great choice in engines.

For instance, in 1977, Oldsmobile became the first to introduce diesel V8 economy in American passenger cars with the 5.7-liter diesel V8. Then in 1982, Oldsmobile introduced another first: The world's first transverse-mounted 4.3-liter diesel V6 in passenger cars. And Oldsmobile's gasoline line-up ranges from economical, electronic fuel-injected 1.8-liter L4 engines to high-output 5-liter V8 engines. Yes, just like in cars, Oldsmobile offers you a wide choice in engines.

There's more. If you would like to have front-wheel drive, it's yours. Rear-wheel drive? It's yours. Options...all you could want or imagine. Your choices are many.

Yet, while Oldsmobile is many different cars fulfilling the needs of many different people, there seems to be one thing all Olds owners share—the feeling that Oldsmobile had one built for them.

THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY LIMITED-EDITION HURST/OLDS CUTLASS

Introducing the Cutlass Ciera Holiday Coupe.

The newest rendition in the Cutlass tradition.

Cutlass Ciera Holiday Coupe.

Now there's a whole new cut of Cutlass! This special edition Cutlass Ciera Holiday Coupe. And special it is. With new stylish accents that give it a look all its own. Inside and out. From the bottom to the top—the new color-coordinated formal top, to be specific. And the handsome two-tone velour seating adds to an already elegant interior. The Cutlass Ciera Holiday Coupe. It's the newest rendition in the Cutlass tradition.

Oldsmobile

Have one built for you.

Let's get it together...buckle up.
Some Oldsmobiles are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries or affiliated companies worldwide. See your dealer for details

Pontiac

To be known for cars with innovative styling and engineering that offer remarkable performance and roadability is more than just our goal, it's our commitment.
PONTIAC MOTOR DIVISION

Over the years, great road machines have left an indelible mark on the American scene. For many, exciting and powerful cars represented the true zenith of America's automotive love affair. To no one's surprise, Pontiac contributed many of these great cars and much of the magic.

Today, Pontiac is earning an equally formidable reputation for cars that deliver an outstanding blend of *total* performance.

Pontiac performance.

In the days when American performance machines thundered away from stoplights in furious splendor, Pontiac had few peers. But in today's driving environment, performance is much more than melting tires in a straight line.

Today, performance means "tuning" a car's attributes into a totally balanced system. Acceleration, braking, and handling characteristics must work together to create the harmonious "feel" that people find difficult to explain, but so easy to enjoy. Today, Pontiac is hard at work designing the cars that thrive in this balanced performance context.

The Pontiac 6000 STE is our flagship, a direct challenger to European cars costing nearly twice as much. The Pontiac 6000 Coupe and Sedan offer the kind of over-the-road performance of great Pontiacs from past eras. The Pontiac 2000 combines electronic fuel-injected, overhead cam 4-cylinder engine technology, with a 5-speed transmission to deliver Pontiac performance and practicality in a compact size.

And of course, the sensational Firebird Trans Am still boasts the overall performance required of one of America's most exciting sports machines. So you see, even though the performance concept is new, Pontiac excitement is still going strong. We wouldn't have it any other way.

Pontiac styling.

Pontiacs have always had a certain "look" that seemed to capture America's heart. And it's easy to see why. For the past 25 years, few nameplates have demonstrated more of a knack for design innovation than Pontiac.

Today, design is more crucial than ever before. Aerodynamic drag contributes 50% of a car's rolling resistance at 50 m.p.h. So you can see why aerodynamic design has taken on such importance.

Here too, Pontiac is a leader. The 1983 Trans Am is one of the most aerodynamic production cars in the world, a glittering piece of aero-sculpture that has the competition shaking their heads, and enthusiasts jumping for joy. And, as if that weren't enough, our Pontiac 6000 Coupe is one of the most aerodynamic *mid-size* cars in the world!

Pontiac roadability.

From the days of the '59 "Wide-Track" Bonneville, Pontiac has built a reputation for cars that display impressive roadability. And today this driving difference is showcased in a full range of rear-wheel and front-wheel-drive Pontiacs.

The rear-wheel-drive Firebird Trans Am displays a magnificent will for the road. And the front-wheel-drive Pontiac 6000, Pontiac 2000, and Phoenix SJ give the driver all-important "feel" and responsiveness.

Pontiac roadability—you'll feel it when you get behind the wheel!

Pontiac engineering.

Pontiac has always been committed to total engineering excellence, and we intend to keep on delivering exciting machines that fit our performance concept.

Advanced technology is playing an ever-increasing role in our engineering efforts, and you can see it in the cars we offer. Computer-aided design, robotic assembly, electronic engine controls, and comprehensive anti-corrosion protection are all part of Pontiac's exciting engineering story.

Yes, the 1983 Pontiacs are setting the pace with styling, performance, roadability and engineering innovation. And in 1984 with the totally new Fiero, the Pontiac legend will grow even more dramatically.

Pontiac. Creating automobiles that capture the spirit and excitement of American innovation. *We Build Excitement!*

Some Pontiacs are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries, or affiliated companies worldwide. See your Pontiac dealer for details.

TEST-DRIVE IT BRISKLY. BUT DO IT LEISURELY.

PONTIAC 2000

When you take one for a spin, take your time. There's a lot this car wants to tell you.

Pontiac 2000 is an energetic, state of the art, front-wheel-drive compact.

Its performance, fit and finish are impressive, to say the least.

An overhead cam 4-cylinder engine with electronic fuel injection and a 5-speed manual gearbox are standard.

It's available in sedan, coupe, hatchback or wagon.

As you can see, Pontiac 2000 is quite good looking. As your test drive will prove, it's also fun to drive. Leisurely *or* briskly.

And as your Pontiac dealer will show you, it's very easy to own.

What a car!

Some Pontiacs are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries, or affiliated companies worldwide. See your Pontiac dealer for details.

GM

PONTIAC WE BUILD EXCITEMENT

GMC Trucks

Vehicles for all Reasons...
are offered by GMC Truck dealers. From the sleek and compact S-15 series to heavy-duty highway tractors, there's a GMC truck for a wide range of personal, family, recreational and commercial applications

Consider the new S-15 Jimmy utility vehicle with new dimensions of versatility, comfort, economy and style Truck enthusiasts are discovering new reasons for acquiring an S-15 Jimmy It's an ideal all-around vehicle for any family, for the great outdoors and for people on the move. In fact, it's like owning two cars in one

Broad range of S-15s...
The Jimmy complements a broad range of high-mileage, hard-working and easy-riding S-15 pickups with a choice of regular or Club Coupe cabs Welded steel body, double wall construction, full steel frame and independent front suspension attest to the rugged good looks of each S-15 model. Whatever your reason, there's an S-15 designed for you. There are a lot of reasons for looking at the full-size GMC pickups, too. Whatever the application, they provide the brawn of a workhorse and the grace of a thoroughbred

For all-around usefulness and versatility, the GMC Suburban is hard to beat. With available second and third seats, it comfortably seats nine adults for a superb family or ride pool wagon. Suburbans are renowned for trailering, too. A properly-equipped C 2500 Suburban can move up to 15,500 pounds, including itself, passengers, cargo and trailer

GMC 4-wheel-drives go where roads can't...
The full-size Jimmy offers plenty of reasons why your next vehicle may be a truck. It features tough and durable construction coupled with style, comfort, economy and utility Equipped with available 4-wheel drive, your Jimmy can take you where the roads can't.

Multipurpose 4-wheel-drive systems are available in a large selection of S-15 pickups, S-15 Jimmys, and regular-size pickups, Suburbans and Jimmys.

GMC van usage is on the upswing, and it's understandable GMC Rally wagons can be equipped to carry 12 persons, and commercial Vanduras can be upfitted for business needs or as family travel vans. Rally wagons and Vanduras are great for towing trailers, too, when properly equipped.

The rugged and efficient GM 6.2 liter truck diesel engine is available for certain full-size GMC pickup, Suburban, Jimmy and van models

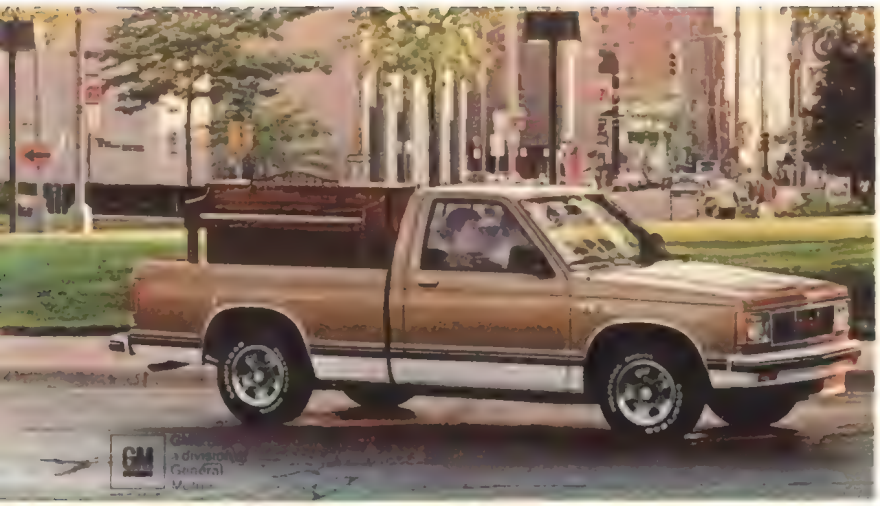
GMC makes quick work of hard work...
If your work interests mean bigger trucks, GMC medium-and heavy-duty trucks are efficient tools of business, industry and agriculture

A wide spectrum of working applications is represented by 5000-6000-7000 series cost-effective GMC medium-duties with diesel and gasoline engines and roomy, functional cabs

And—for heavy-duty truck operations, GMC Brigadier, Astro and General models are designed to cut your operating costs. The GMC Dragfoiler is a typical example. It offers significant fuel savings in times when nobody can afford to operate a truck that isn't getting the most work possible out of a tankful of fuel

Whether your trucking needs are large or small, our whole line is built with your bottom line in mind

So, name your reason for a truck There's a GMC model to match that reason....and quite possibly, for reasons you may not yet have even considered



GMC's S-15.

IF IT ISN'T ONE GOOD THING, IT'S ANOTHER.

The S-15 is a hard-working, easy-riding compact hauler from GMC. And that's a good thing to be. In fact, that's four good things to be. It's the regular GMC S-15 pickup, the S-15 Club Coupe with extended cab, the S-15 longbed and the S-15 Jimmy. Whichever GMC S-15 you choose, you'll get a stylish, comfortable, quality-built yet economical truck, available with four-wheel drive. See your GMC truck dealer soon. And get in on a good thing. Get in on another good thing: buckle up for safety.

	EST HWY	EPA EST MPG
S-15 2-Wheel-Drive Pickup	1.9 Liter 4-Cylinder 39	27
S-15 4-Wheel-Drive Pickup	2.0 Liter 4-Cylinder 30	22
S-15 4-Wheel-Drive Jimmy	2.0 Liter 4-Cylinder 30	21

Use estimated MPG for comparison. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, distance, weather. Actual highway mileage lower. Estimates lower in California. Some GMC trucks are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries, or affiliated companies worldwide. See your GMC truck dealer for details.

GMC

TRUCKS ARE WHAT WE'RE ALL ABOUT.

Official Truck of the XXIIIrd Olympiad Los Angeles 1984

One Out Of Every Three

It's true. Of the estimated 36,000,000 trucks on America's roads today, approximately 12,000,000 are Fords.

That means many of the things you use every day are brought to you by a Ford truck.

It also means many of the people whose livelihood depends on trucks, rely on Ford trucks and vans to help them make a living.

1925. Ford Introduces Its Pick-up To America.

It caught on quickly, and over the years became the best selling vehicle in the Ford truck line.

By the thirties, Ford trucks were being designed and built for every purpose you can imagine; from furniture vans to ice cream delivery trucks to school buses to police wagons.

In 1946 we introduced our first "2-tonners."

In 1958 we brought out our "Super Duty" series. The small ones weighed 30,000 pounds.

In 1961, Ford diesel-powered trucks began earning their reputation with the nation's fleet owners and drivers.

That same year, Ford Econoline Van made its debut and today there are more Ford Vans on

Trucks On The Road Is A Ford.

the road than any other make.

Why Ford Trucks Are So Popular.

They're built tough. So much so, that over the last fourteen years, Ford is first in total truck sales and that's according to R.L. Polk calendar year registrations.

Ford began building trucks in 1917, with the one-ton Model TT.

Over the years, Ford trucks have earned a reputation for being rugged, versatile and economical.

For leisure, Ford vacation trucks like the new Club Wagon can take you just about anywhere there's a road. And our new Bronco II can also go where there's not a road, and you'll still be driving in style.

For business and pleasure, there's a Ford truck in America's future.

Ford

There's A Ford In America's Future.

The men at the top

Proper management of people is another key ingredient in the drive to make Detroit the "quality capital" of the world. With that in mind, Automotive News asked top executives of the four major U.S. auto companies to express their personal views on the subject of quality. Here are their responses

W. Paul Tippett
Chairman
American Motors Corp.

Quality is the number one issue for today's car buyer. Sticker shock is largely behind us and interest rates have been falling, so people are returning to the showrooms. When car buyers look at the new models, they want to be *sure* they're getting their money's worth—not just a car that is attractive or offers just one or two advantages such as fuel efficiency or passenger comfort. They want a car with excellent fit and finish, one that will perform consistently well over a period of years—in short, they want a car of the highest possible quality.

The U.S. auto industry has put an unprecedented effort into quality development during the past few years. At AMC we have invested $200 million in tooling at our manufacturing plant at Kenosha, Wisconsin, to introduce the Renault Alliance last fall. Most of that investment went into making sure the Alliance would have the highest quality standards of any car built in America. The success of the Alliance, including the Motor Trend Car of the Year Award, speaks for itself.

AMC has shown that it has what it takes to meet the consumer's quality standards. We've also shown that we can match or exceed the quality standards of all the competition, including the Japanese.

At AMC we have a vice president of Quality and Product Integrity who heads an organization that coordinates product quality throughout the company. There are weekly meetings at the vice presidential level for all groups to coordinate their efforts on a project. The Quality and Product Integrity organization conducts testing at all stages of product development to determine where there are problems and how to bring them to the attention of the groups which can solve them.

For the development of the Alliance, we involved our dealer network at an early stage to ensure that quality standards would be maintained not only at the assembly plant but at the dealer's service department. It is in the service department where the owner goes when he has his first problem and where he makes important judgments on the quality of the product he bought and the company that produced it.

To involve the service network in our Product Integrity program, the Quality and Product Integrity group went through shop manuals as they were being written, instead of waiting until they were printed. Then they made sure that AMC mechanics were trained to service the Alliance before it ever made it to the dealerships.

To achieve long-range credibility and market success, a company must, of course, design and then build quality *into* its products. That is the real meaning of quality control—not trying to catch flaws or errors after they have already been made. In 1983 we will be introducing a new generation of passenger cars and a new line of Jeep vehicles that will demonstrate again how thoroughly we've put this quality philosophy to work.

L. A. Iacocca
Chairman
Chrysler Corporation

Quality is a way of life at Chrysler. It's a demanding discipline, but a rewarding one.

Quality and its twins—durability and reliability—are at the top of the list when people buy a new car or truck. People still want style, performance, and efficiency—but quality is the real price of admission to increased sales.

At Chrysler, we're paying that price. We're going all-out with good old-fashioned workmanship and attention to detail. Every arm of our product group—design, engineering, manufacturing—is going after quality with a fine-tooth comb. In our plants, we've set up joint UAW/Chrysler Product Quality Teams that get the bugs out before they bug you. Their motto: "Get it right the first time."

Chrysler is also going after quality with state-of-the-art technology. We've set up a quality assurance program with our suppliers that employs the latest methods of preventive maintenance and statistical control. In our manufacturing process, we've taken a quantum leap into the future by installing a high-technology paint system that's run by computer and other precision equipment.

The results are starting to show. We've made significant progress in the last few years. Our passenger-car quality is up 31 percent. Our truck quality is up 38 percent. We've always had a reputation for building durable Dodge trucks. Now we're on track with a tough internal program designed to put Chrysler products out front in quality and keep them there.

Because we build them better, we can back them better. That's what Chrysler's five-year 50,000-mile warranty is all about. It's the strongest statement in the auto industry today about quality, and about product value. Nobody matches our 5/50 commitment. It's our way of making "Made In America" mean something again.

Philip Caldwell
Chairman
Ford Motor Company

Quality is Job 1 is not just a slogan. It's a way of doing business at Ford.

That's why the average quality of Ford's 1983 cars is 59 percent better than our 1980 models; for trucks it's 47 percent better.

We know that because our customers told us—in a survey of about 6500 owners of 1983 cars and trucks measuring things gone wrong.

This dramatic increase in the quality of our products began several years ago with a commitment by the management of Ford Motor Company to make quality our number one priority. There's nothing more important.

It is our goal to produce the best quality cars and trucks in the world. No exceptions.

Once that commitment was made, we set out in earnest to make it happen—through defect prevention, not defect detection and correction.

The first step was to enlist the support of every man and woman in the Company so that we could use the ideas, the talents and commitment of all our employees.

Employee involvement is the process we use to mobilize our human resources—for quality, job satisfaction and improvements in productivity.

For example, at our Louisville Assembly Plant employees working on the factory floor gave us over 300 ideas on how to improve the quality of our new Ranger compact truck. As a result, Ford studies show that truck's quality is equal to or better than any pickup truck sold in North America.

Today, about 10,000 hourly employees participate in over 1100 Employee Involvement groups at over 60 plants and locations.

Another process we launched was the concept of never-ending progress. There is no specific goal for improvement in our operations. We have a moving target. Once we reach a new level of quality, we set our sights on a higher level.

This is the philosophy we received from Dr. W. Edwards Deming, the father of Japanese quality, and we embrace it fully.

In addition, we enlisted our outside suppliers as partners in the quality improvement campaign. We purchase from outside companies over 60 percent of the components and materials that we use to build our cars and trucks. So our quality depends heavily on the quality of such purchases, and our suppliers also have made their own commitment and great strides in quality improvement.

We are very pleased with that quality improvement. But, we are committed to a philosophy of never-ending progress.

So when we achieve the best automotive quality in the world, we know there will be an opportunity to do even better.

That's what we mean when we say Quality is Job 1 at Ford!

Roger B. Smith
Chairman
General Motors Corp.

We use many different yardsticks to measure quality at General Motors, and most of them confirm that the new cars and trucks that GM people are producing today are the best ones ever.

We can document large gains in fuel economy, corrosion resistance, reduced maintenance requirements, increased tire life and reductions in both mechanical and aerodynamic friction. We can also measure improvements in the accuracy of how body panels fit together, making our cars tighter and quieter. At the same time, our engines start easier, accelerate more crisply and are smoother. And in safety, both laboratory testing and customer use attest to the careful research engineering and manufacturing that goes into our cars; in fact, GM dominates the list of models with the best accident injury claims records, as compiled and reported by the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety.

But the measure of quality that means the most to us is the one that individual owners apply to their new GM cars and trucks.

Fortunately, when we ask our new owners directly, they tell us that they do recognize the progress we are making. Based on our 1983-model year results, owners of new GM cars and trucks are reporting the highest satisfaction levels in a decade. In each of the past 10 years, our owners report that we have consistently improved our quality, and that is important on two counts.

First, during that period, we have had to meet demanding new government standards while redesigning all our cars—not just once, but most of them a second time—to improve mileage. That we were able to continue to improve owner satisfaction through those massive changes is a tribute to everyone in GM.

Second, it shows we didn't just discover quality at General Motors. It has been an important objective throughout our 75-year history. But it has taken on higher priority in recent years as our customers' expectations rose and imports captured a larger share of U.S. sales.

Our newest vehicles benefit most extensively from early design analysis, use of robotics and automation, new management methods, employee involvement, use of Statistical Quality Control and modernized production facilities. And I'm sure no manufacturer is trying harder than GM to extend these kinds of improvements to every one of its products.

The reason is simple. Owner surveys are a good measure of satisfaction with quality, but repurchase loyalty is even better. And when you look at customers who trade in an older car and buy a new one, three out of four GM owners buy another GM car. That is the highest owner loyalty of any manufacturer. Our goal is to keep earning that No. 1 position year after year.

Today, the American car buyer is more demanding, critical, uncompromising and quality-conscious than ever.

Buick is the only American car company to have increased its sales the last 3 years in a row.

Thanks, Buick buyers.

BUICK

Wouldn't you really rather have a Buick?

ARGENTINA

Searching for a Scapegoat

Former President Galtieri goes to jail for being too candid

In the year since Argentina's attempt to seize the Falkland Islands ended in a humiliating defeat by British forces, the military government has never issued a full explanation for the fiasco. Former President Leopoldo Galtieri, who masterminded the foiled invasion and then left office in disgrace three days after his country's surrender, has finally lifted that veil of secrecy. His candid account of military incompetence and official bungling stunned not only his countrymen but members of the ruling three-man junta and his successor, President Reynaldo Bignone. Last week the government charged Galtieri with violating military regulations that bar officers from discussing political matters without permission. They sentenced him to 45 days in prison.

Galtieri: a "pampered child"

In a rambling interview published in the mass-circulation Buenos Aires *Clarín*, Galtieri revealed just how little he understood U.S. and British attitudes prior to the invasion. Blind to the close ties that bind the U.S. and Britain, Galtieri had managed to convince himself that his cordial relations with the Reagan Administration meant that the U.S. would remain neutral. "I was North America's pampered child," Galtieri said. He also admitted that "we would never have invaded" if he had known that the U.S. would eventually give logistical support to the British forces after the failure of Secretary of State Alexander Haig's negotiating shuttle. With equal naiveté, Galtieri added that Britain's "stormy reaction" to the Argentine invasion "had not been foreseen."

According to Galtieri, the confusion within Argentina's military leadership was even worse. Visiting the Falklands, he found his soldiers so badly deployed that he thought of relieving General Mario Benjamín Menéndez, commander of the 10,000-man garrison on the islands. Galtieri later rejected the idea for fear that it would cause panic among the dispirited troops. As conditions deteriorated, he says, Menéndez "seemed to shrink five centimeters every day." Faced with a severe equipment shortage, Galtieri reveals that he bought ten Mirage jets from Peru, then cut a deal with Libyan Dictator Muammar Gaddafi for the delivery of five Boeings loaded with matériel. Galtieri also admits what everyone has suspected all along: he did not resign voluntarily after the debacle. His fellow generals forced him to quit.

If Argentina's current military rulers have overreacted to Galtieri's outspokenness, it is because they too bear responsibility for the Falklands fiasco. Buenos Aires is rife with speculation that Galtieri's arrest is only the first step in a campaign by the junta to saddle him with the Falklands failure, allowing the rest of the military establishment to escape blame. The generals, in any event, are on their way out. In a further move toward a promised return to civilian rule by early next year, the junta last week restored the political rights of 19 party and labor leaders. The government also released 74 political prisoners, although an additional 175 remain in jail. ■

A Sad Odyssey

Just as the morning mist was lifting, the families began climbing the gentle path to the cemetery at Port San Carlos. As they paid silent tribute to the 14 British soldiers who are buried there, several bereaved relatives burst into tears. On one gravestone a widow pinned a picture of her baby. Near by, a Union Jack fluttered in the wind. That scene last week marked the first stop on a four-day pilgrimage by 541 relatives of the 255 Britons who died last year in the ten-week-long war to recapture the Falkland Islands from Argentina.

The families had made the 8,000-mile trip from London by way of Montevideo, Uruguay, where they boarded the Cunard *Countess* liner for the final leg. After setting sail from Port San Carlos, they sang a traditional hymn and scattered wreaths upon the waves in honor of the 174 British men who died at sea. In Port Stanley, they were invited to lunch in the homes of grateful locals. Said one widow, Sara Jones: "I will go home stoked with memories which will have to last me a lifetime." Meanwhile, in Argentina, a group of more than 400 relatives is still struggling to organize a similar trip to the 221 Argentine graves at Darwin.

Bereaved relatives pay tribute to Britons who died in the Falklands war

VIET NAM

When Will the Peace Begin?

An exclusive look inside a troubled, still divided nation

Our mountains will always be,
Our rivers will always be,
Our people will always be:
The American invaders defeated,
We will rebuild our land
Ten times more beautiful.
—Ho Chi Minh, 1969

A decade after the last U.S. combat forces pulled out and eight years after the Republic of Viet Nam crumbled, reminders of the great victory are everywhere. "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom," one of Ho's favorite slogans, is stenciled on hundreds of roadside monuments, while colorful posters exhorting one and all to remember the North Vietnamese army's heroic sacrifices adorn shopwindows. In Saigon, now officially known as Ho Chi Minh City, the airport is fringed by old bomb craters and littered with the hulks of U.S. transport planes. In Hanoi, the capital, the memories of war are cherished in details large and small. At the War Museum, a once stately mansion located near the Ho Chi Minh mausoleum, visitors gaze upon such relics as the ID cards of captured American pilots, pieces from a downed U.S. B-52 bomber, and the T-54 tank that first breached the gates of Nguyen Van Thieu's Independence Palace in Saigon in 1975. At a nearby carnival, the most popular game is the beanbag toss, in which gleeful children win pieces of candy by pelting a plywood figure of Uncle Sam.

For the North Vietnamese, the triumph of 1975 held the sweet promise of peace and prosperity; once those in the South realized that a vengeful bloodbath would not take place, they too believed that better times were ahead. Yet as the rare U.S. journalist allowed inside Viet Nam can attest, that hope has not come true. Instead of realizing Ho's dream of a land ten times as beautiful as before the war, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, unifying North and South since July 1976, is vexed by troubles at home and abroad. Its economy struggles along, its 57 million people are divided and demoralized, its leadership is doddering and ineffectual. A reluctant ally of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam faces China, a historic foe, to the north and finds itself bogged down in a drawn-out war in Kampuchea in the south. Finally, Hanoi is in the ignominious position of wanting better ties with the U.S.—only to be turned down cold by Washington.

Hanoi's frustrations sometimes flare into violence. Late last month, Vietnamese troops began their annual offensive in Kampuchea to flush out the estimated 45,000 armed rebels opposed to the Hanoi-backed government of President Heng Samrin. Vietnamese soldiers destroyed Phnom Chat, a border village sympathetic to the Khmer Rouge, the largest of the guerrilla groups, then pulverized O Samach, a settlement 70 miles to the northeast that served as an outpost for the 30,000 followers of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. During the blitz, however, the Vietnamese aimed their fire not only at the insurgents but at unarmed civilians in both Kampuchea and neighboring Thailand. Hanoi's troops ventured a mile into Thai terrain and shelled several villages and a highway. Charges of atrocities grew last week as witnesses claimed that during the attack on O Samach, Vietnamese soldiers herded Kampuchean civilians into bunkers and then tossed hand grenades at them.

Of all the woes that bedevil Viet Nam, its economic problems are the most exasperating. Officially, Hanoi blames the bleak picture on three decades of warfare and what it calls "economic sabotage" by China and the U.S. It does not mention the cost of keeping 1,029,000 men in uniform—the fourth largest standing army in the world, after China, the Soviet Union and the U.S. But party officials now acknowledge that poor planning and mismanagement are partly to blame. Occupied solely with winning the war, the North Vietnamese were unready to rule a reunited nation.

China and the U.S., the countries that fed the two Viet Nams throughout the war, halted rice shipments. The Southerners who had been dispatched to rural work camps called "new economic zones" deserted in droves. Even nature rebelled: in 1977 and 1978, the country was hit by an unlucky streak of typhoons

Tourists line up to pay homage at Ho Chi Minh's tomb in Hanoi

Rush hour, Vietnamese-style: a clutch of cyclists pedal down a Saigon street

Photographs for TIME by Edde Adams

and drought that ravaged the crops.

In 1978, Hanoi reverted to ideological instinct and tried to straighten out the economic chaos by abolishing all capitalist remnants in the South. The stated goal: to eliminate 30,000 private shops that had been allowed to flourish after the war and reroute their trade through state-owned enterprises. It was a disastrous policy that triggered a flood of tens of thousands of boat people; in addition, 170,000 ethnic Chinese fled overland from North Viet Nam to China. Among the refugees were many technicians and managers. Most of the industries in the North have yet to recover fully from that migration.

The month-long invasion by Chinese troops across the northern Vietnamese border in early 1979 destroyed half a dozen cities, roads and railways, and industries such as coal mining and fishing. But the damage was minor compared with what Hanoi had done. By 1978, the country's food production had dipped to an alltime low of 12.9 million tons: Vietnamese actually had less to eat that year than at the height of the war. Hanoi warded off starvation only by importing 1.5 million tons of grain from the East bloc. So inept were the government's domestic policies that by mid-1979 some 700,000 citizens had fled the country, and an estimated 110,000 drowned while trying to cross the South China Sea.

In August 1979, Vietnamese officials started tinkering with the system to permit some free-market practices. The reform program, later dubbed the "contract system," now allows workers to sell goods on the open market once state production goals have been met. In Hai Hung province east of Hanoi, for example, the Ai Quoc farming cooperative, composed of 1,250 families, sells its rice to the state for 2.5 dong (26¢) per kg. Once its quota is reached, the cooperative is free to trade any surplus to private merchants who pay 10 dong ($1.05) per kg, or to the government, which pays 7 dong (74¢) for additional rice. With such incentives, production at Ai Quoc has risen from 6.5 tons to 7.2 tons per hectare. "A strong worker can earn 2,100 dong [$225] a year," says Nguyen Van Nien, 35, the farm's chairman. "With that, many of our people can afford to buy a radio or bicycle."

The reforms have had the greatest effect in the North, where the economy is more tightly controlled. Hanoi's Hang Dao Street, the city's main commercial strip, is now lined with private shops selling Chinese porcelain, Levi's jeans and counterfeit Camel cigarettes. In Saigon, where a black market flourished even after the 1978 crackdown, the relaxation of rules has made sales more open. Vendors operating from makeshift booths off Ham Nghi Boulevard hawk everything from refrigerators ($360 at the black market rate) to music cassettes ($1.50) to Japanese-made stereos ($160). To some degree, the government actually competes on the free market: nearly 30 new state trading companies, many run by old bourgeois merchants in Saigon, are showing surprising business acumen in pushing exports.

The trouble is that most Vietnamese cannot afford to shop in the free market regularly. The average worker earns 160 dong ($18 at the official rate) a month and must make do with a monthly ration of cereal (13 kg), meat (2 kg), fish (2 kg) and sugar (1 kg). Government office workers are at a special disadvantage, since they cannot easily supplement their fixed income. Despite a 100% pay hike in 1981, a middle-level bureaucrat takes home only $18 a month: at that rate, it would take him several years to buy one of the Vietronics color television sets assembled at a onetime Sanyo plant in Bien Hoa.

Despite Ho's contention that "Viet Nam is one, the people are one," the two halves of the country and their inhabitants have always been, and remain, quite different. In some ways, the end of the war only highlighted the contrasts. The North is relatively undeveloped, with little industry, primitive roads and no high-rise buildings. The South is more modern and retains a bit of its old freewheeling ways. Northerners still regard their Southern compatriots as lazy; the Southerners consider people from the North to be dour and aggressive. Nguyen Van Trang, vice chairman of the provincial government in Hai Hung, sums up the difference from his vantage point. "If we behaved like Southerners, we'd all starve," he says. "We in the North work hard and accept responsibility." Yet daily life in the South can be so much more attractive that many bureaucrats talk of "going to heaven" when transferred south. One glaring difference between the two areas: food is far more plentiful and better in the South.

Beyond that, though it may be resigned to its defeat, the South on the whole has not accepted Communism. Only a small number of students graduating from Saigon high schools join the Young Communist League, regardless of the fact that party membership assures admission to a university. Passive resistance abounds in other ways as well. Despite government warnings, many Southerners still tune in to the Vietnamese-language broadcasts of the Voice of America. The party posters that sprout all over the North are less frequently seen in the South. Suspect loyalties can be punished: the government still runs eight so-called re-education camps where onetime supporters of the South Viet Nam regime are politically "rehabilitated." Officials claim that there are 10,000 political prisoners, but the U.S. State Department puts the total at more than 60,000.

Though overall security probably has never been better, the country remains heavily policed; in the cities, plainclothesmen are ubiquitous. Citizens must obtain a police permit before visiting another city, and no one can switch jobs or move without permission. All music, books, magazines, newspapers and films must be

Lest they forget: schoolchildren file past a Chinese-built helicopter in Hanoi, and a soldier conducts a firearms course in Saigon

Life bustles along in Hanoi, once battered by bombs but now a far more sedate city than its southern cousin, Saigon

reviewed and approved by the state. Hanoi is capable of censorship on moral as well as political grounds: public dancing, that popular pastime of the decadent West, is strictly forbidden

Hanoi seems intent on erasing every trace of Viet Nam's days before the advent of Communism. The tombstones at South Vietnamese military cemeteries are being bulldozed. Not even the monument to Alexandre de Rhodes, the French missionary who Romanized the Vietnamese language in the 17th century, is sacrosanct: last month workmen sledgehammered the statue in Saigon and dug up the small French graveyard near by.

The country's only substantial link with the West is through the mails: under recently revised rules, Vietnamese citizens are allowed to receive three gift parcels a year from abroad, plus enough cash to support a family. Fifty tons of presents a week arrive from the U.S. alone. The distribution warehouse in Saigon is packed with men and women clutching ID cards and bills of lading, and the government estimates that some 200,000 families receive packages during the year. Hanoi collects duties ranging from 15% to 200%, depending on the products, but recipients still can turn a quick profit by reselling their gifts on the black market.

By most appearances, the Roman Catholic Church is flourishing in Viet Nam. Six times every Sunday, for example, some 2,000 people try to squeeze into a church built for 900 in Phi Nghe, several miles from Saigon. Worshipers crowd the aisles and transepts and spill out into the dusty gravel courtyard. It is an impressive sight, and one that seems to confirm Hanoi's claim that all are free to worship as they wish. Indeed, Viet Nam has had a Roman Catholic Cardinal since 1976 (Joseph-Marie Trinh van-Can currently holds the post). But the cooperative spirit is deceptive, for Viet Nam's 5.3 million Catholics have refused to declare themselves socialist, and Hanoi is retaliating. All Catholic schools were shut down in 1975, but far more damaging was the government's move to close seven of the South's eight seminaries. Since 1975 only seven priests have been ordained. By blocking the flow of new clergy, Hanoi is quietly strangling the church. Phi Nghe, for example, has only two priests to minister to its 12,000 parishioners. No churches have been forced to close yet, but that may be only a matter of time.

But even if many Vietnamese, especially in the South, resent the Communist government, and dissatisfaction is widespread, armed resistance is fragmented and slight. Western diplomats in Bangkok believe that some 2,000 guerrillas, including Montagnard tribesmen and former soldiers of the South Vietnamese army, may be roaming the countryside.

Many of the country's problems can be traced to the fact that Hanoi continues to rely on war veterans rather than skilled administrators to run the government. Viet Nam's top officials are all veterans, but a good guerrilla does not necessarily make a good executive. At the province level, for example, fewer than a third of the officials have a college or vocational education. The gaps extend to the top: not one of the 15 members of the Politburo has any training in economics.

The Politburo, however, remains dominated by septuagenarians, some of them ailing: Premier Pham Van Dong is 77, while Secretary General Le Duan just turned 76. The Vietnamese Communist Party, which has 1.7 million members, is divided and confused. There is no clear doctrine on topics ranging from farming collectives to foreign relations. Visitors to Hanoi now hear the government bitterly criticized, with the most pointed complaints coming from cadres. Some government workers are so desperate that they even approach foreigners on the street and offer to change money illegally, at the rate of 75 dong to $1, *vs.* the official rate of 9.5 dong to $1.

Viet Nam's economic survival continues to depend largely on Moscow's munificence. Soviet aid to Hanoi last year totaled about $1 billion, with an additional $500 million lent by other East bloc countries. In turn, the Soviets have demanded and been granted the right to use the military bases at Danang and the American-built facility at Cam Ranh Bay. Soviet diplomats, military experts and technical advisers stationed in Viet Nam now total some 10,000, and the

Vietnamese in Saigon picking up packages sent by friends abroad

Many families rely on the parcels' absolutely, positively getting there.

number appears to be rising steadily.

The Vietnamese make little effort to hide their dislike and distrust of the Soviets. Hanoi signed its friendship treaty with Moscow in 1978 primarily because of the promised financial help. Since then the Vietnamese have been resisting Soviet attempts to gain greater influence within the country. The advisers are allowed to move freely throughout the North, but their travel in the South is severely restricted. In Saigon, for example, Soviets working out of the consulate, formerly the U.S. ambassador's residence, need special permission to travel more than seven miles beyond the city limits.

Though Moscow's ultimate goals in Viet Nam are not totally clear, its newly shaped strategic position worries neighbors and other countries. "Without Viet Nam, the Soviet navy has no naval base from Yemen to Vladivostok," says Philippe Richer, French Ambassador to Hanoi in 1975 and 1976. "With their ships in Cam Ranh Bay and their air force in Danang, the Soviets can patrol most of the South Pacific." One Vietnamese diplomat candidly admits that his country turned to the Soviets in the first place only because Hanoi considers the Chinese even less trustworthy. Says he: "We needed help, and the Soviets were the safest ones to take it from."

Hanoi's ties to the Soviets worry Peking, which follows the old adage that an enemy's friend is an enemy as well. China and Viet Nam may have similar cultures and an 800-mile common border, but the two countries also share a historic animosity that stretches back more than 2,000 years. Though Peking provided Hanoi with as much as $20 billion in aid during the war, tensions began to build in 1978, when ethnic Chinese fled Viet Nam as a result of Hanoi's economic policies. Then, shortly after the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty was signed, came Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea. Hanoi's forces quickly toppled the bloodthirsty, Chinese-supported Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot and installed in its place a pro-Vietnamese government headed by Heng Samrin. Today 180,000 Vietnamese troops are tied down in Kampuchea, while an additional 45,000 are encamped in Laos.

The Chinese are convinced that Viet Nam is bent on dominating Southeast Asia through a tripartite Indochinese socialist union that would include Kampuchea and Laos. Peking also fears that Hanoi's actions are part of a larger Soviet scheme to threaten China's southern flank. Aside from launching their brief attack across Viet Nam's northern border in early 1979, the Chinese have been giving weapons and supplies to the remaining Khmer Rouge guerrillas in Kampuchea. Hanoi, for its part, contends that its troops were sent into Kampuchea partly to end Pol Pot's killing spree and partly to blunt Chinese designs on Viet Nam. Despite Hanoi's intervention in Kampuchea, life in that beleaguered land is clearly better today than during the reign of Pol Pot.

But it is the presence of Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea that remains a key stumbling block for the restoration of relations between Hanoi and Washington. Besides supporting a United Nations resolution that calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops, the Reagan Administration seems intent on keeping Viet Nam in the position of an international pariah. The U.S. prohibits American companies from doing business with Hanoi. Washington also lobbies against United Nations development grants for the country and discourages other nations from offering aid. "Basically, Viet Nam has isolated itself by its actions," contended Secretary of State George Shultz during a Far Eastern swing last February. "Its behavior is outside the pale."

Cycling by a political poster in Hanoi

To underscore that contention, the 1982 report on human rights practices released by the U.S. State Department earlier this year excoriated Viet Nam for its alleged offenses and led Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams to call Hanoi "the single most repressive government in the world." Though many organizations, including Amnesty International, are concerned about Viet Nam's human rights record, few experts would agree with Abrams. "In Viet Nam, for example, we are not confronted with the torture and political executions that currently scar Central America," observes a human rights group official in London. "This makes it difficult to draw the balance between worse and worst."

Even today, however, the U.S. and Viet Nam do talk directly about one highly emotional issue: the unfinished business of American fighting men listed as missing in action during the war. Of the 2,500 who remain unaccounted for, about 1,150 are known to have been killed in action, but their remains are yet to be recovered. Only 79 sets of remains have been returned from Viet Nam since the war ended. Last year Vietnamese officials agreed to meet with U.S. medical experts, and Americans have so far traveled to Hanoi twice to discuss techniques of recovering and identifying remains.

Hanoi is still eager to resume diplomatic relations, mostly because it desperately needs economic help. Asian diplomats claim that the U.S. missed an ideal opportunity to renew ties in 1978, after the Vietnamese government had dropped its controversial claims for reparations. It can perhaps be argued that by shunning Hanoi's advances, the U.S. pushed Viet Nam into the arms of the Soviets. Yet it is clear that what Hanoi was desperately seeking at that stage was a strong financial patron, and it would have been politically impossible for Washington to offer Viet Nam the amount of aid that the Soviets promised.

Hanoi may have achieved its goal of making Viet Nam one nation, but the ironies are impossible to ignore. Its people endured a 30-year war, only to be mired in a dismal economic swamp. To remedy the situation, the Communist government is relying on a multitude of capitalistic measures. Once constantly decrying the U.S. for its imperialistic aims, Hanoi invades another country and finds itself stuck in a nasty war battling stubborn guerrillas. After driving out one superpower, Viet Nam invites another one, the Soviet Union, to come in. The mass of Vietnamese must wonder: When will the peace really begin? —*By James Kelly. Reported by David DeVoss/Hanoi*

Abandoned U.S. transport planes rusting away at Saigon's airport

Good guerrillas do not necessarily make good administrators.

Consumer Orientation

21

Subject

The new Porsche 911 Cabriolet has the same 3-liter aluminum-silicon alloy engine: rear-mounted, air-cooled, 6 cylinders. The same maximum output: 172 hp at 5500 rpm. And the same maximum torque: 175 ft lbs at 4200 rpm.

Because performance is everything at Porsche, the new Cabriolet's top matches the flowing form of the Coupe's roof line to produce minimal wind resistance. As a result, on the track, the Cabriolet has the same acceleration as the Coupe and the Targa: 0-50 mph in 5.8 seconds. And the same top speed: 139 mph.

The top itself is a three-ply design with cord reinforcing, spring-loaded steel cables to ensure that the fabric lies smooth.

Padded steel panels run across the entire width of the roof to stabilize the cloth top at high speeds and to provide good sealing, low wind noise, and minimal temperature loss.

To further reduce draft, suppress wind noise, and add stability at top speed, tough rubber seals have been fitted to those parts of the roof where the canvas meets the rear window.

The torsionally-stiff frame has one-piece, folding side members made of light alloy to save weight.

© 1983 Porsche

Porsche 911SC Cabriolet

Opening and closing the top can be easily accomplished in [illegible] by hand. This eliminates the need for a motor-driven system and saves further weight. (As much as 60 lbs.)

The body of the Cabriolet is similar to that of the Targa. However, the area where the rear-suspension mounts to the body assembly has been strengthened to increase the torsional rigidity of the body. Endurance tests on the track at Weissach show the Cabriolet produces exactly the same torsional stiffness as the Targa.

The new Porsche 911SC Cabriolet: With our newest car, as with our very first car, excellence is expected.

For your nearest dealer, call toll-free: (800) 447-4700. In Illinois, (1-800) 322-4400. PORSCHE AUDI NOTHING EVEN COMES CLOSE

911SC Targa

911SC Coupe

New Insights into Alcoholism

A major study tackles basic questions about problem drinking

Everybody knows an alcoholic, and everybody thinks he knows why the person drinks. Weak character. No self-control. Had a miserable childhood. Has a terrible marriage. Cannot face reality. Hates work. Is paranoid. The denials and rationalizations, the self-pity and self-importance, the guilt and anguish are all parts of a predetermined type, the "alcoholic personality." Right?

Wrong. The alcoholic personality is the *result* of alcoholism, not the cause. This is the most startling and original conclusion of a new landmark study, *The Natural History of Alcoholism: Causes, Patterns, and Paths to Recovery* (Harvard University Press; $25), on the affliction that hits one American family in three. The author, Dr. George Vaillant, 48, a Harvard psychiatrist, is one of the most respected researchers in adult development. Vaillant tackles other key questions that specialists in the disorder have been debating for years: Can an alcoholic return to social drinking? Is there a genetic cause for the affliction? Why are some ethnic groups more likely to become alcoholics? How effective are hospital treatment centers?

It is a mark of Vaillant's achievement that his book, instead of sparking more controversy on a disputed subject, is being hailed by leaders in the field as a major breakthrough. Dr. William Mayer, acting head of the Federal Government's National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, considers Vaillant's work to be "an unmatched contribution and a reasoned approach to solving the massive health and social problems relating to the excessive use of alcohol." Last week the American Medical Society on Alcoholism gave Dr. Vaillant its annual award "in commemoration of outstanding contribution and unstinting dedication" in the field of alcoholism research.

The key to Vaillant's work is that it is the first long-term study of alcoholism as it develops in individual lives. The usual approach is to examine alcoholics to see how their sickness evolved, a technique that is always blurred by the distortions of the victim's memory. Vaillant was able to begin at the beginning. For the past 16 years he has been the director of a unique research study that since 1940 has been following the lives of 200 Harvard graduates and 400 inner-city, working-class men from Boston and Cambridge. In 1977 Vaillant published the first results of this research: *Adaptation to Life*, a study of factors in the Harvard group that led to success after college. In his new work, which focuses on 136 men who became alcoholics, Vaillant also draws on his experience as a director of the respected Cambridge Hospital Alcohol Program. Vaillant and his fellow researchers watched 26 from the Harvard group and 110 from the blue-collar group travel their individual paths to alcoholism and, equally important for the study, observed men with similar lives who did not develop problems.

Wine is part of the meal on special occasions for the Vaillants and Anne, 16, and Henry, 17

"We should teach children to make intelligent drinking decisions."

People begin drinking socially for a myriad of reasons, including, most notably, peer pressure. But the answer to one question remains elusive: Why do people become alcoholics? In the continuum from a few too many drinks at a party to loss of control over drinking, where is the trigger point? Vaillant says that it is impossible to say, but at some level the casual drinker becomes physiologically and psychologically addicted to liquor. "You are an alcoholic," says Vaillant, "when you're not always in control of when you begin drinking and when you stop drinking."

But why do some people become addicted to alcohol if most do not? The reasons, says Vaillant, are as complex as people. Once hooked, argues Vaillant, an alcoholic drinks from habit and not to resolve conflict.

Although no one is predisposed by personality to become an alcoholic, Vaillant believes that a person is likely to drink too heavily—and find himself some day addicted—if he is demoralized, feels that he is a social outcast, is "susceptible to heavy-drinking peers," or can seemingly "handle" his liquor well, drinking everyone under the table. People who drink for a specific reason, such as a death or illness in the family, are more likely to be able to control the practice than those who use liquor for unknown reasons. Vaillant claims that a serious drinker does not proceed automatically down the path to alcoholism and, indeed, may be able to lead a remarkably stable and happy life. The study shows that moderate drinkers (who do not exceed an average of four drinks per day) often turn out to be better adjusted socially than total abstainers.

Recognizing alcoholism is simpler than pinpointing its causes. Says Vaillant: "The warning signs of alcoholism are when a person finds himself doing things when drinking that he regrets afterward, or if he has ever gone on the wagon, or tried to change brands to control his drinking." Some other danger signals: five or more drinks daily; problems with family or friends or at work over drinking; two or more blackouts while drinking.

Is an alcoholic predetermined by his genes? Vaillant believes there is a connection, noting that one out of three victims has a close relative who is alcoholic. But he doubts that researchers will ever find the biochemical marker. "I think it would be as unlikely as finding one for basketball playing," he says. "The best analogy is most coronary heart disease, which is not due to twisted genes or to a specific disease. There is a genetic contribution, and the rest of it is due to maladaptive life-style: too much fat, too little exercise

One gets alcoholism not because one does something terrible over the past week, but because, over time, one has done a lot of maladaptive things."

Certain ethnic groups, Vaillant found, are collectively maladaptive. Irish men in the study generally grew up in families where alcohol was forbidden, drinking took place apart from meals and away from home, and male drunkenness was tacitly admired. The Irish in the survey also became alcohol dependent seven times as frequently as the Italians, who as children learned that drunkenness was frowned on and drank with family groups and with meals (thus diminishing the addictive effect of the alcohol "high"). To Vaillant, these sharp differences (which are also true of the more alcoholic Northern Europeans as contrasted to moderate Jews) suggest that "one of the directions we should go is to teach children how to make intelligent drinking decisions." Vaillant, a social drinker, serves wine to his children, Anne, 16, and Henry, 17, on ceremonial occasions.

The high number of children of alcoholics who become addicted, Vaillant believes, is due less to biological factors than to poor role models. Being raised in a warm, close-knit family does not lessen a child's chances of becoming an alcoholic, nor does coming from a family with many problems increase the risk. Vaillant is reluctant to make predictions about behavior, but believes that the best sign that a child may not develop into an alcoholic as an adult is an "ineffable" quality—ego strength—that seems to come from experiencing a sense of competence when the person is young.

The hottest argument among experts on alcoholism these days is over whether an alcoholic can ever again return to social drinking without inevitably suffering a relapse. Vaillant, who constantly repeats that alcoholism is a problem that can be described only in grays, not in black or white, says that it all depends on how sick the alcoholic is: "If you have a little bit of alcoholism, as if you have a little bit of diabetes, you can control it." But Vaillant warns, "By the time a clinician identifies a person as an alcoholic, it's almost always too late to return to social drinking." On this issue, Vaillant is supported by the National Council on Alcoholism. Says Dr. Sheila Blume, medical director of the N.C.A.: "The alcohol-dependent or loss-of-control alcoholic is not able to return to drinking."

Dr. John Wallace, director of Edgehill Newport, a 165-bed alcohol-treatment program in Newport, R.I., says flatly that the suggestion that an alcoholic might be able to return to social drinking safely is "a serious ethical problem, because at least 97% of alcoholics, if you let them drink, could die."

The immediate, desperate question for millions of Americans is neither why nor how a person becomes an alcoholic, but how to treat the affliction. The first step, writes Vaillant, is recognizing that alcoholism is "neither a psychological symptom nor some vague unnamed metabolic riddle waiting to be deciphered." It is not a sin, but a progressive disease that may take years to acquire, and from which it may take years to recover. Writes Vaillant: "The task is to convince the patient not that he or she *is* an alcoholic, but that he or she is a decent person who has an insidious disease—a disease that is highly treatable but, like diabetes, requires a great deal of responsibility from the patient." To Vaillant, the fact that half of all alcoholics do manage to recover is a solid sign of hope. He feels that too much attention has been paid to those who do not.

Some of Vaillant's most important, and controversial, conclusions about treating an alcoholic came as a surprise even to the author. Traditional psychiatric approaches may be helpful for treating accompanying symptoms, such as despair, paranoia or anxiety, he believes, but they are nearly useless in dealing with the underlying nature of alcoholism itself. In his book, he ruefully describes his own disillusionment with his profession's ability to cope with the disease. "I was working for the most exciting alcohol program in the world," he says. But the results at the clinic were no better than if the doctors had left the alcoholics alone.

Other professionals agree with Vaillant's glum assessment. "We don't do anything adequately," admits Dr. Robert Millman, director of the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Service at Payne Whitney Psychiatric Clinic in New York City. Explains Dr. Blume of the N.C.A., who is a psychiatrist: "Psychiatrists have been trained that alcoholism is a problem which comes from early-childhood experiences, but aren't taught how to treat alcoholics. They go after these 'underlying causes,' treatment doesn't work, the alcoholic gets worse and the psychiatrist decides that the disease is intractable."

What about expensive hospital treatment centers, now so fashionable that they have become a growth industry with companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange? Vaillant concludes flatly that they do not work in the long run, although he believes they may be useful in rescuing, however temporarily, a person who is about to collapse under the strain of his illness. Nor can a seriously ill alcoholic "will" himself to give up liquor.

"Recovery," says Vaillant, "occurs through a series of events coming together." One is that alcoholics usually need some kind of substitute for alcohol, such as tranquilizers or psychotherapy or a support group of people with similar problems. "Second, even though it's terribly unscientific, alcoholics usually do seem to need some kind of source of hope and self-esteem, or religious inspiration—whatever you want to call it—and that seems more important than hospital or psychiatric care."

What Vaillant calls the "natural healing processes" that relieve suffering and create hope are best fostered today, he believes, by Alcoholics Anonymous. He argues that the first step to sobriety is an acceptance of the first precept of A.A.: "I am powerless over alcohol." Says Vaillant: "A.A. is the most effective means of treating alcoholism, and it worked for sophisticated, Harvard-educated loners as well as for gregarious blue-collar workers."

One of the most impressive aspects of Vaillant's work is his own deep respect, strengthened instead of diminished after close analysis of 600 lives, for the capacity of human beings to heal even their most inexplicable and terrifying afflictions themselves. He also argues persuasively that it is not only essential, but possible, for alcoholics to regain control of their lives. *—By Jane O'Reilly. Reported by Mary Carpenter/New York and Ruth Mehrtens Galvin/Boston*

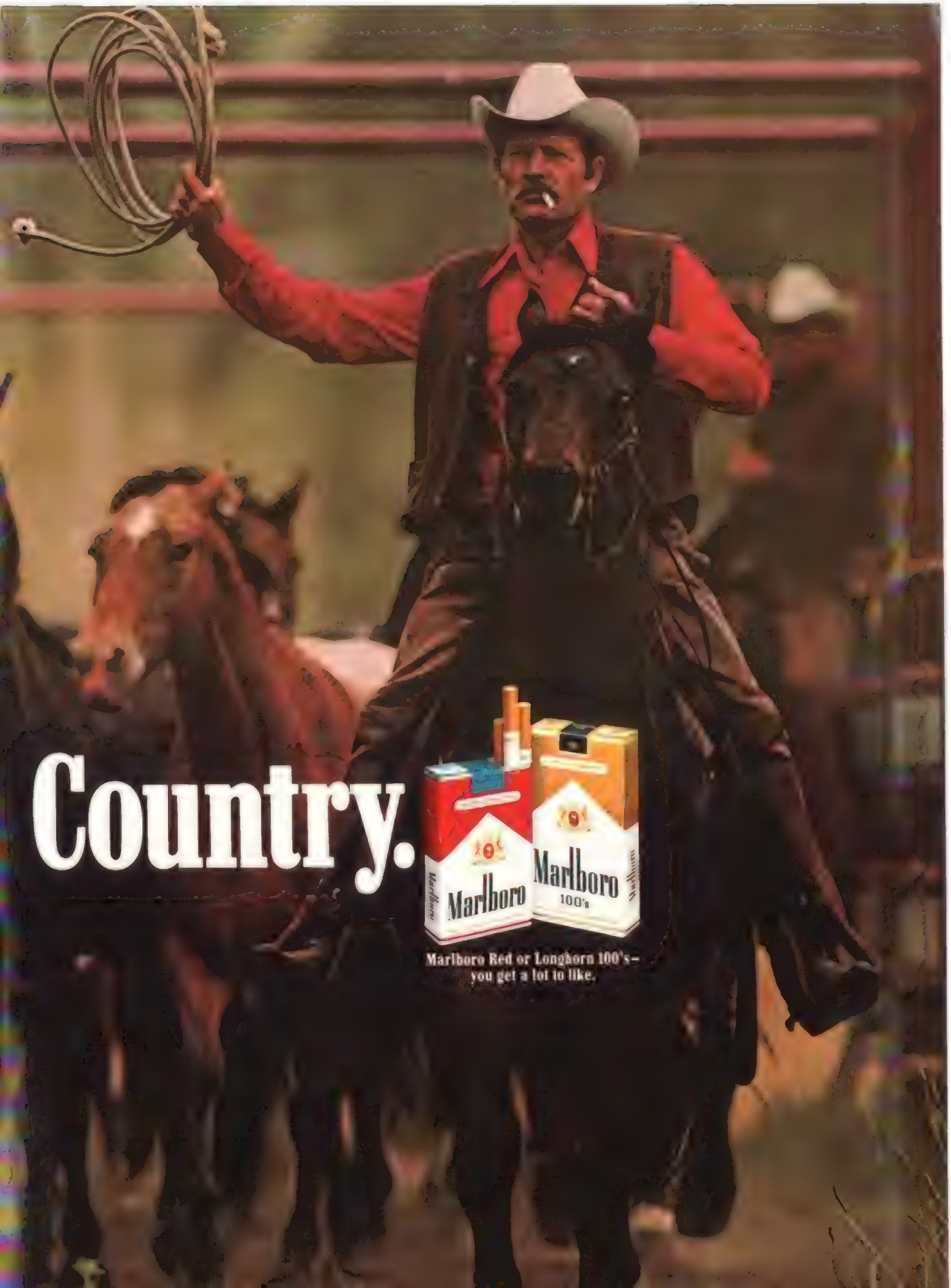
THE SORROWS OF DRINK

Percentage of alcoholics in each study group who have experienced the following:

	Blue-collar worker	Harvard group
Employer complaints	38%	31%
Multiple job losses	28	8
Family or friends complaints	87	100
Marital problems	66	88
Alcohol-related arrest	73	19
One hospital, clinic or A.A. visit	46	31
Gone on the wagon	70	58
Tardiness on job or taking sick leave	43	12
Admitted problem of controlling drinking	72	92

TIME CHART BY RENEE KLEIN

Come to Marlboro
© Philip Morris Inc. 1982
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.
Kings: 16 mg "tar," 1.0 mg nicotine—100's: 16 mg "tar," 1.1 mg nicotine av. per cigarette. FTC Report Dec. 81


Country.
Marlboro
Marlboro
100's
Marlboro Red or Longhorn 100's–
you get a lot to like.

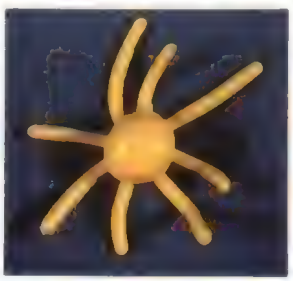
Sticking to It

Japan's WallWalker goes far

Unlike the Pet Rock, which insulted the intelligence, and Rubik's Cube, which defied it, a big new hit on the toy scene tickles the imagination and captivates the eye. The Wacky WallWalker, as it is called, is a sticky, rubber, eight-legged object that exists to be thrown at a wall or window, on which it alights, shudders, flips, turns, wriggles and lurches downward, shimmying like a pixilated octopus.

Invented and manufactured in Japan, the WallWalker has a certain Nipponese unpredictability: it never follows the same pattern twice in its wayward descent, seemingly pausing at times to reflect on its fate, at others engaging in a manic bout of activity. Many WallWalker buffs buy several of them at a time and mount a mural ballet. It is also cheap. More than 10 million in green, blue, yellow, red and black have been sold in the U.S. at between $1.69 and $2.50 since its introduction to a few cities late last year, and there are seemingly thousands more miles of wall for it to walk before the novelty wears off.

For Japanese-born Ken Hakuta, 33, exclusive U.S. distributor for the toy, the WallWalker has other charms. It has already made him a millionaire several times over. The walk to riches began last November, when Hakuta's parents in Tokyo sent several of the widgets to his 3½-year-old son Kenzo, in Washington. Entrepreneur Hakuta, who has an M.B.A. from Harvard and runs a Washington-based import-export firm called Tradex, was immediately smitten with the toy and arranged to have it shipped to the U.S. He says: "I figured it might be something that could put humor into this recession." (Tradex, which has its headquarters in Hakuta's house, had previously been engaged in the less-than-hilarious business of selling cat food to Japan and importing karate uniforms.)



Arriving at some U.S. toy counters in time for Christmas, WallWalker put fun into a lot of kids' stockings and profits into Hakuta's account. The toy, called Tako (for octopus) in Japan, costs about 20¢ to make. Hakuta buys them for 30¢ to 35¢ each, packages and airfreights them to the U.S., pays the import duty (12.3%) and sells to wholesalers or retail stores for between 70¢ and 80¢. Thus he averages a 40¢ profit on each toy. So far, Hakuta has spent nothing on advertising or promotion. "It just goes to show you don't have to be a big company like Mattel," he says. Last week, however, a campaign of 30-sec. TV commercials in association with Wendy's hamburger restaurants was launched; it is running in prime time and between Saturday-morning cartoon shows in 466 markets.

Hakuta, Son Kenzo and their favorite toy

With a shimmy like a pixilated octopus.

Hakuta has been negotiating with a television network for a possible cartoon show featuring WallWalker characters; it could be comparable, he says, to the immensely successful show inspired by the Smurfs. A New York City publishing company is considering a WallWalkers children's book. Hakuta euphorically envisions a WallWalkers olympics. His "dream," he says, is to have 5,000 WallWalkers take part in a race down Manhattan's World Trade Center. Or he could make a King Kong–size monster to descend the Empire State Building.

Inevitably, as with Rubik's Cube, Taiwanese manufacturers are pouring out cheap copies of the toy. More than 5 million pirated versions have been stopped by Customs from entering the U.S., but several million have made it into stores and street vendors' hands. The knockoffs sell for between 79¢ and $2.50. They are made of inferior rubber, according to Hakuta, "bleed out this gooey stuff," lose their stickiness and fall off the wall. When the Japanese-made crawler loses its adhesive, it needs only to be washed in soap and warm water to work again; the copies will not. Unhappiness is a rubber octopus that won't stick to it. ■

Odds & Trends

POSITIVE ID

To see ourselves as others see us, in Poet Robert Burns' wish, has never been literally possible, since all conventional mirrors present an image that is reversed and flattened. For the first time a mirror is available that gives a "positive" reflection: no longer, for example, will people who part their hair on the left see the part as being on the righthand side, as a regular mirror shows it. Developed over a six-year period by two former M.I.T. engineering students, George Lechter and David Eckel, it is called the Really Me mirror and retails for about $50. Some 5,000 have been sold, many to speech therapists, who use them to guide patients' mouth exercises, and to plastic surgeons, who use them in consultations to help patients understand what they can expect from operations. The marketers report that some 70% of those who see themselves positively for the first time do not like their appearance and would prefer an old-fashioned *rorrim*.

THIS WAY, *POR FAVOR*

Homeowners who employ Spanish-speaking maids and gardeners no longer have to take Berlitz lessons to communicate with them. *Tell a Maid* and *Tell a Gardener* (published by Tell-a-Maid, $2.50 each), devised by Linda Wolf, a Beverly Hills language teacher, consist of detailed checklists of chores in Spanish and English, terms for household and garden utensils and multicolored pages of cutout cards with instructions in both languages, like "Take out the trash" and "Polish the silver." The books, available at supermarket and pharmacy checkout counters, have drawn fire from some Hispanic organizations that regard them as racist and demeaning, but have been defended by such groups as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Says Author Wolf: "If I can save a maid's life because she doesn't mix ammonia and bleach and die from toxic fumes, I'm doing her a favor."

BLUE AND BRITISH

The British, who have not come up with a new cheese since they developed Sulton nearly three centuries ago, are now marketing a product quaintly titled Lymeswold. The first European-style blue-veined full-soft cheese ever developed in the U.K., it resembles a German variety of Brie in texture and appearance; in flavor it is somewhat like Italian dolcelatte, a milder cousin of gorgonzola. It has a white rind, costs up to $5.70 per lb., and will last as long as six weeks in the refrigerator. The cheese was developed by the Milk Marketing Board, the national dairy cooperative, and is so popular at home that no supplies have yet been made available to the colonies.

We cut high student loan payments

(from an average of $151/month)

down to size.

(to an average of $98/month)

You can now reduce your student loan payments dramatically—by up to 50%—in the OPTIONS program at Sallie Mae.

Sallie Mae is a private corporation chartered by act of Congress in 1972 to make it easier for lenders to provide student loans. Now, we've been authorized to make student loans easier to pay off and we're doing just that with OPTIONS.

We simply pay off your existing NDSL, GSL, and FISL loans and create one new, 7%-interest, guaranteed student loan with no prepayment penalty. By choosing a longer payback period, payments that start low and rise gradually, or a combination of both, you end up with a single, lower monthly payment. The average reduction is from $151 to just $98 a month.

Loan Category	Typical Old Payment	Typical OPTIONS Payment
$5,001-$7,500	$ 96.00	$ 58.00
$7,501-$11,000	122.00	72.00
$11,001-$15,999	166.00	96.00
$16,000-or more	214.00	123.00

What OPTIONS can do for you. To get an idea of how much we can reduce your monthly payments today, estimate the amount you still owe on any NDSL, GSL, or FISL loans in good standing. Find the total on this chart and you'll see what we've done for borrowers like you.

With OPTIONS, you get to choose the payment plan that fits into *your* plans. When you get a student loan, most lenders tell you how much you'll pay, and for how long. With OPTIONS, *you* tell *us*. With OPTION 1, you can select a longer payback period, for a lower, unchanging monthly payment. With OPTION 2, payments start very low and increase gradually—like your income. OPTION 3 gives you graduated payments, too, but lets you pay off the loan faster.

If you have student loans to pay off, exercise your OPTIONS. OPTIONS is your opportunity to create the student loan payment plan that's right for you...to cut your student loan payments down to a size you can live with right now, when your income is probably lower than it will ever be again.

So if you owe more than $5,000 in NDSL, GSL, or FISL loans, don't miss this unique opportunity.

Let us give you more details, at no obligation. Thousands of student loan borrowers have already taken advantage of the OPTIONS program. To find out why, fill in and return the coupon. We'll send you a brochure that fully explains the OPTIONS open to you. Or, if you have any questions, call our toll-free 800 number.

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A103

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Washington, D.C. 20007. OR CALL:
800-821-7700 toll-free. Ask for OPTIONS.

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The true cost of owning a car each year

Average annual cost for 20,000 miles

	variable costs	fixed costs	total
1. Cadillac DeVille	$1,980	$4,598	$6,578
2. Buick Electra	2,010	3,892	5,902
3. Mercedes 240D	1,310	4,238	5,548
4. Ford T-bird	1,790	3,383	5,173
5. Ford LTD	1,660	3,279	4,939
6. Chevrolet Impala	1,830	3,100	4,930
7. Chevrolet Celebrity	1,590	3,046	4,636
8. Volvo DL	1,510	3,111	4,621
9. Chevrolet Celebrity D	1,280	3,297	4,577
10. Dodge Aires	1,450	2,805	4,255
11. Toyota Corolla	1,320	2,733	4,053
12. Subaru GL	1,320	2,726	4,046
13. Ford Escort	1,350	2,643	3,993
14. Mazda GLC	1,200	2,612	3,812
15. Datsun Sentra	1,190	2,534	3,724
16. VW Rabbit D	1,040	2,586	3,626

Note: Except for the Sentra, Rabbit and Mazda, all cars are similarly equipped, including air conditioning, power steering and brakes, tinted glass, AM radio and other common options. Costs include variable expenses (gas at $1.55 per gallon, diesel at $1.45, oil, maintenance and tires), fixed expenses (insurance, depreciation, financing, taxes and license) and are based on a three-year 60,000 mile retention cycle. Hefty repair bills could, of course change any of these numbers. Expensive foreign cars can be especially costly to repair.

Last is first.

There is a lot more to paying for a car than just buying one from your favorite dealer.

Take this survey published by one of the most respected business magazines.

They found that while the Rabbit Diesel wasn't the cheapest car to buy, it was the cheapest car to own of those surveyed.

What's the difference?

Well, they took the cost of a new car, and then added fuel costs, and maintenance costs, and insurance costs, and depreciation costs, and discovered the Rabbit cost less.

And all those other cars cost more.

Of course this is nothing new to anyone who has ever owned a Volkswagen.

They already know the thrill of finishing last.

Nothing else is a Volkswagen

Hope Stirs in the Ghetto

Improving big-city high schools get Ford Foundation awards

Of all the problems that beset the nation's educational system, one of the most intractable has been the plight of the inner-city high school. Crippled by crime, underfunding and racial strife, the schools have been unable to motivate students who play hooky and mark time. Academic performance has been abysmal. But now there are signs that some ghetto high schools, despite their appalling problems, are making substantial progress. Last week the Ford Foundation singled out 92 schools in 20 large cities for praise and gifts of $1,000 each, which were far more important for their symbolic value than for their monetary worth. In June about half of the schools will receive $20,000 grants to help their climb.

"We found kids wanting to learn and teachers wanting to teach to a greater degree than we had expected," says Edward J. Meade Jr., who directs the foundation's precollege educational programs. What made the schools fight to improve? The basic reason was pride, which was evoked by strong leadership. The resurgence was often crystallized around an outspoken and energetic principal who galvanized students, parents and community. Reports Meade: "In some cases the motivation was as simple as, 'We were known as the lousiest school in town, and we don't want to be the lousiest school.' "

Three award winners:

▸ Morris High, the South Bronx, New York. When Frances Vazquez, 35, became the principal of Morris in 1979, the school was racked by violence. Located in one of the most depressed neighborhoods in the nation, Morris had an enrollment of 1,700 pupils that was 35% black and 65% Hispanic, many of them recent immigrants from the Caribbean and Latin America. "When I first arrived, I would not have used the staircase," recalls Vazquez. "Groups of kids were hanging around the halls and simply not attending classes."

Vazquez is in her office by 6:15 a.m. to run a program that now balances hard work and discipline with understanding and support. Students and their parents must sign contracts with the teacher to certify that they understand course requirements. Half an hour's homework is demanded in every subject every night.

The results are impressive by any standard. Last year the number of suspensions was down to 32, from 200 in 1978. Reading and achievement scores have risen, and there is a new sense of optimism and confidence in the halls. Of this year's 300-plus seniors, 85% will go on to attend college (acceptance letters are plastered on one wall). The students have received offers of some $1.3 million in financial aid, compared with less than $1 million in 1978. Luis Nuñez, 17, who has seven brothers and sisters and whose mother is on welfare, has already been accepted by eight colleges, including Carleton and Oberlin, and has received a commitment from New York's Union College for $11,650 in financial aid, enough to cover the whole year. "I want to be a doctor," says Luis.

JEFF CORBIN

Principal McKenna with students at Washington Prep High

"I tell kids what to eat, what to wear, how to study."

▸ Albert Sidney Johnston High, Austin. Three years ago, the school had a largely vocational curriculum with a student body almost entirely composed of minority students. It lagged behind all other Austin schools academically. Recalls Principal Adan Salgado: "We were the doormat of the district."

Then Johnston had to deal with a new problem that turned out to be its inspiration: a 1980 court-ordered desegregation plan resulted in busing half of its students from white sections of town. When white parents began protesting against the new plan, Johnston's faculty became determined to improve the school. Led by Salgado, who can call most of his 1,700 students by their first names, the administration began beefing up the academic program, installing the school system's first computer center and adding advanced courses in French, Latin, math, biology and chemistry. White enrollment has grown from 44% during the first year of busing to 50% this year. A total of 29 white students have left private schools to ride a bus 45 minutes each morning to Johnston. In 1980, 90% of the students were below grade level in math; by 1982, the figure had improved to 54%. Although no racial incidents have occurred, full integration in campus activities does not yet exist. But Salgado is confident that this problem will also eventually be solved. "You aren't going to see it right away," says he. "But it is going to happen—because these kids want to make it happen."

▸ George Washington Preparatory High, Los Angeles. Only four years ago, Washington High would have matched most people's Hollywood image of the blackboard jungle. "Morale here was terrible," recalls Margaret Wright, a leader of the parents' group. "The rooms were dirty, and 90% of the teachers were rotten."

Then, in 1979, George McKenna, a tough-minded former civil rights activist, became principal at the age of 37, which made him the youngest administrator ever appointed to the office in a Los Angeles high school. He moved quickly to upgrade expectations; this year he added the word preparatory to the school's name, underlining its new, no-nonsense commitment to high academic standards. He also replaced 85% of the teachers, banned radios and Walkmans, and imposed a dress code (no hats or earrings for the men, no curlers for the women). Says he: "I tell kids what to eat, what to wear, how to study."

McKenna's hard-line approach to learning is paying off. Violence and absenteeism have dropped dramatically, and seniors' test scores for basic skills, while still below the city level, increased by an average of four points this year in every subject. Honor students get their pictures on the wall and receive discounts for student activities. Some 700 students help tutor and do community service work. Parents volunteer to help out wherever needed. Next year 90% of the graduating class will go on to a college or vocational school.

For the first time, Washington will host the citywide Annual High School Shakespeare Festival this month. "Other kids are scared to death to come down here to the inner city," chuckles Shakespeare Coach Aura Kruger. "They should all be scared to death of the competition." —*By Guy D. Garcia. Reported by John E. Yang/Austin and Adam Zagorin/New York*

Topic A in the Money World

Will Reagan reappoint Volcker or won't he? Does he really have a choice?

It is a prime subject—probably *the* prime subject—of speculation among Washington politicians, Wall Street financiers and businessmen everywhere: Will Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul A. Volcker, 55, one of the pivotal makers of U.S. economic policy, be reappointed to a new four-year term in August? Last week, for example, at a New York City luncheon for 20 top money managers held by Morgan Stanley & Co., the investment banking firm, Admiral Robert L.J. Long talked at length about the Soviet military threat. But at all the luncheon tables the topic of conversation was Volcker. At Manhattan's "21" Club, several businessmen were overheard discussing the Fed chairman. Eight blocks away at the Algonquin Hotel, Arthur Levitt Jr., chairman of the American Stock Exchange, and Jack Albertine, president of the American Business Conference, talked about who, if anyone, might succeed Volcker as they waited for their guests to arrive.

Volcker's future is also of intense concern outside the Washington-Wall Street axis. Even those businessmen who normally do not pay much attention to the arcane ways of the Fed or meetings of its powerful Open Market Committee are watching the situation closely. They are acutely aware that the actions of Volcker or his successor will have a crucial influence on interest rates and the availability of credit and that this will determine the health of the economy. "Everywhere I go in my district, people ask me about you," New Jersey Congresswoman Marge Roukema told Volcker last week. "They think it's important that you be reappointed, and so do I." Replied the chairman, noncommittally as usual: "Thank you, thank you very much."

President Reagan has until Aug. 6 to reappoint Volcker to a new term or name a successor. But experts predict that he will probably act sooner, perhaps in early June. Waiting any longer would create great uncertainty in world money markets and not allow time for a smooth transition in case Volcker does not stay. On the other hand, Wall Streeters believe Reagan is unlikely to move before the late-May meeting in Williamsburg, Va., of the leaders of the seven leading industrial powers.

But does Reagan really have that much freedom of action? Some longtime watchers of the process of naming the Federal Reserve's boss point out that a President's power is often much less than it appears. William McChesney Martin, for example, had served as chairman longer than anyone else, from 1951 until 1970, when he retired. The last two Presidents to reappoint Martin, Kennedy and Johnson, would have preferred to name their own man to the job, but they stayed with Martin because of pressure from financiers around the world. Moneymen used to quip that Martin was worth his weight in gold because he kept the dollar strong.

Indeed, Jimmy Carter did not have a lot of freedom when he appointed Volcker in 1979 to replace G. William Miller, who became Treasury Secretary during a wrenching Administration shuffle in which Carter fired four Cabinet members and then retreated to Camp David for a chaotic series of conferences about the future of his Administration. World money markets were so shaken and the dollar so weak at the moment that Carter had to turn to someone who epitomized stability and competence and inspired international confidence. Volcker, then the president of the New York Federal Reserve, was the obvious, if not preferred, choice.

Once he got into office, Volcker showed an independence from White House pressure that has pleased financiers but irritated both the Carter and Reagan Administrations. In the fall of 1979, under heavy pressure from world money markets as the dollar was falling sharply, Volcker abruptly changed the focus of the Federal Reserve's policy from manipulating interest rates to setting targets to slow the growth of money and credit. This helped push the prime rate to 21½% by December 1980 and sent the economy into recession. But the payoff was a sharp drop in inflation. Prices were increasing at about 13% a year when Volcker took over. Today the U.S. inflation rate is less than 4% annually.

By early 1982, though, Volcker began coming under criticism because the tight-money policies were holding back the longed-for recovery. Many politicians were ready to declare victory over inflation and wanted to return to economic expansion. Finally last summer the Federal Reserve started allowing the money supply to grow, thus setting the stage for the present recovery.

That economic strengthening, in turn, has helped convince a number of politicians and businessmen that Volcker deserves renomination. Inflation, for example, continues its downward drift. In March, producer prices fell .1%, while industrial production rose for the third straight month. Unemployment is holding high at above 10%, but it is down from the 10.8% peak in December. Last week the Commerce Department reported that retail sales posted a .3% rise in March, the first increase since November. Detroit's carmakers are expected to report total

first-quarter profits of $930 million, *vs* losses of $77 million during the same period last year. That will be the first time since 1979 that the Big Three automakers have made money in the first quarter. For early April, car sales roared 32% ahead of a year ago, paced by General Motors with a 55% increase. As a result of the sales pickup, GM last week announced plans to recall 16,000 laid-off autoworkers.

Meanwhile on Wall Street, the Dow Jones industrials closed last week at a record 1,171.34, a 46.63 jump for the week. It was Volcker who helped launch the latest running of the bull market with a statement that interest rates would not remain high. He also told the House Banking Committee last week that he expected interest rates to come down and the economy to continue recovering.

The improving economic news provides Reagan with an excellent reason to reappoint Volcker. But in a White House that highly values its chosen team players, Volcker is clearly not a Reagan man. The two men had never met before Reagan became President, and have had only half a dozen meetings since then, never alone.

Volcker has been transmitting mixed signals as to whether he wants to stay in the job. He is being cordial and responsive to critics. When Congressman Jack Kemp and six Representatives and Senators last month criticized Volcker's support of greater U.S. participation in the International Monetary Fund, the chairman's response was a polite, thoughtful and detailed letter explaining that the $8.5 billion increase was justified in view of international banking troubles.

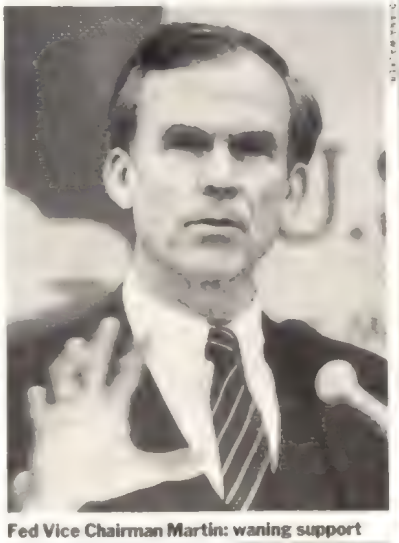
Yet at the same time, Volcker has repeatedly refused to say whether he would accept reappointment to another term. At last week's House Banking Committee hearing, New York Democrat John LaFalce asked him pointblank: "Are you seeking reappointment?" Replied Volcker: "I don't want to get into that."

Silence from the White House about a successor and noncommittal answers from Volcker have naturally led to speculation about another successor. The most frequently mentioned candidate is Alan Greenspan, 57, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, consultant to the Reagan White House and most recently head of the commission on Social Security reform.* Greenspan supports Volcker's reappointment, saying, "I think he has done a fine job and deserves it." But Greenspan has lots of support in the White House because of past service to the Administration. Says one admirer: "He's an independent but on the Reagan team nonetheless, a perfect compromise choice." He is also a popular candidate among moneymen. Says Barton Biggs, the chief investment officer of Morgan Stanley: "If they pick Greenspan, they will pick the second best guy to Volcker."

*Greenspan is also one of six members of TIME'S Board of Economists

Consultant Greenspan: the leading candidate

CEA Chairman Feldstein: long shot



Fed Vice Chairman Martin: waning support

So far, only silence from the White House.

Another candidate who pops up frequently is Preston Martin, 59, vice chairman of the Federal Reserve, whose economic views are close to Volcker's. Though Martin is a Californian and a friend of the Reagan White House, his chances seem slimmer than they once did. His critics are starting to come out, a sure sign of weakening support. Says one: "Martin just isn't impressive."

Other names sometimes mentioned: Martin Feldstein, 43, the current chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Citicorp Chairman Walter Wriston, 63, probably the wittiest of all the candidates. Last month Wriston took himself out of the running by saying that he did not think that a former banker should head the Federal Reserve, which oversees the nation's banks. But then he explained, "Actually, no one ever offered me the job." Also mentioned, but only as long shots: Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, 64, and Treasury Under Secretary for Monetary Affairs Beryl Sprinkel, 59, an ardent monetarist.

On Wall Street and in the business community generally, Volcker is clearly the preferred candidate. Says Walter Shipley, president of New York's Chemical Bank: "He has done a marvelous job. The best thing that could happen would be his reappointment." Western European businessmen and finance ministers agree. They respect Volcker for warning of the growing problem of international debt and for his tough anti-inflation stand. Former Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, who is now serving as Ambassador to West Germany, recently visited Vice President George Bush to make a plea to keep Volcker on the job. Burns based his case on the need for respected leadership in the ongoing international financial crunch. Said another Volcker fan: "These are dicey times. It's not the moment to bring in a neophyte."

But it is possible that Paul Volcker has had his fill of running American money policy and may now want to make a little more money himself. The $69,800 he earns annually as Fed chairman pales in comparison with the $500,000 or so he could command in the private sector. Not that megabucks or family problems have ever swayed him. "With him," says a friend, "the job is the thing, and people like that don't change." While Volcker's term as a member of the Federal Reserve Board runs until 1992 and he could remain even under another chairman, no one expects that to happen.

Volcker's wife Barbara seems to think her husband's Washington career will end soon. Last week at the Harvard Club, where Volcker got an award, it was suggested to her that it would be a relief for her to have her husband back in August. Said she: "Yes, it certainly will be." There was a pause. "But of course," she quickly added, "I'm only talking out loud." —*By John S. DeMott. Reported by David Beckwith/Washington and Frederick Ungeheuer/New York*

IRA Stampede

Taxpayers race the deadline

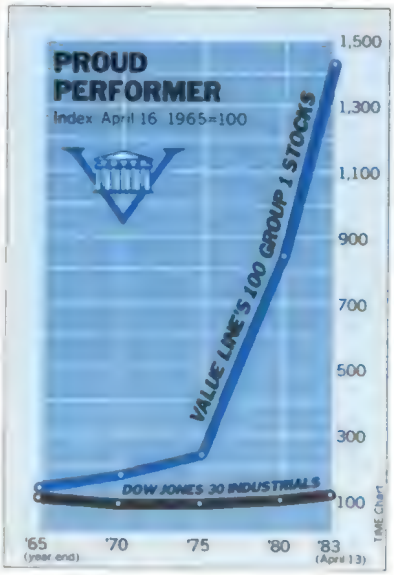
The annual April 15 rush to the post office to mail 1040 forms was rivaled last week by another race. Hundreds of thousands of taxpayers inundated financial institutions with applications for Individual Retirement Accounts. Dean Witter Reynolds kept brokers working until 9 every night and answered thousands of questions over a 24-hour telephone hot line. Last Wednesday alone, 7,100 Dean Witter customers opened new IRAs. Exulted Vice President Joseph Hamm: "It's been absolutely crazy."

Under a change in the law passed in 1981, all taxpayers can deduct up to $2,000 from their taxable income if the money is deposited in an IRA. The 1982 accounts could have been opened as early as January of last year, but many people put off getting one until they faced the choice of declaring $2,000 more in income or putting $2,000 away for retirement. By the time the books are closed on 1982, some 11 million taxpayers are expected to have deposited about $18 billion in IRAs, compared with only 3.4 million people who put away $4.8 billion for 1981.

Merrill Lynch, which has more IRA and similar Keogh accounts than any other firm (700,000), found the rush breathtaking. A fortnight ago the broker signed up 39,000 customers in a single five-day period. Then last week it nearly tripled that by entering 100,000 accounts. Merrill Lynch helped stimulate business by holding last-minute seminars in New York, Chicago and 70 other cities to explain the various kinds of IRAs. In the offices of the E.F. Hutton brokerage firm last week, $20 million per day went into new accounts. Said Gary Strum, head of pension services: "We have done a helluva lot of business."

IRAs can also be offered by mutual funds, insurance companies or credit unions, but banks and savings and loans have grabbed off the largest share of the business, and last week they were drawing big crowds too. California's Bank of America, which opened about 50,000 new accounts during March, had 64,000 applications in just the first two weeks of April. At New York's Chase Manhattan, activity last week was five times as great as in January and February. Observed Vice President Brian Holland: "Human nature being what it is, people seem to wait until the last minute." To accommodate all the eleventh-hour savers, First National Bank of Chicago kept its office open until midnight on April 15.

The rush to IRAs is not over. People who have already filed for an extension on their 1982 return still have four months in which to benefit from Uncle Sam's tax shelter. ■



Coming Out

A top stock picker goes public

Arnold Bernhard, 81, spotted his chance after the stock market crash of 1929. Figuring that the public was aching for reliable investment advice, he set up a firm to provide it. The result was the weekly *Value Line Investment Survey*, first published in 1935. Today 111,400 subscribers get Wall Street's most popular major advisory service (cost: $365 a year). "All you need is an idea and faith in yourself," says Bernhard, who had dabbled in journalism and playwriting before turning to Wall Street. In a much awaited public offering, Bernhard will sell 19% of his company by early next month. The sale is expected to earn him as much as $34 million in cash and make his remaining 81% interest worth some $145 million.

MICHAEL MELIA
Bernhard

Value Line (1982 profits: $6.7 million) has won a high standing among investors by offering clear and detailed guidance on 1,700 specific stocks. A typical page of the investment survey is packed with graphs and tables and includes a chatty summary of each company's prospects. The most avidly followed feature is the special "timeliness" ranking, which rates stocks on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 means time to buy; 5, hold on to your cash).

All this information appeals to both big and little investors. Robert Farrell, Merrill Lynch's chief portfolio strategist, calls *Value Line* "the most useful analytical tool on my desk." Says Robert Andrialis, group vice president of Standard & Poor's, a competing service: "*Value Line* is No. 1 with individual investors."

Stocks recommended by *Value Line* have established an astounding record of outperforming the market. An investor who bought the 100 top-ranked stocks each year since 1965 and held them for twelve months would have scored a gain of more than 1,300%. The Dow Jones industrial average, by contrast, has risen less than 30% during the same stretch.

Bernhard's method is based on comparisons of price-and-earnings data for companies. The Value Line computer ranks each stock against the rest of the 1,700 in terms of short- and long-term price performance and earnings history. Analysts throw in an "earnings surprise" adjustment when a firm's profits depart sharply from projections. Says Bernhard about his system: "It's so simple that I'm amazed and a little hurt that it isn't more widely copied." Some experts, however, ask whether the fact that so many people follow *Value Line's* advice may not be the real reason for the success of its picks.

In addition to the Value Line advisory service, the 375-employee firm manages six mutual funds with $1.2 billion in total assets. They include the Value Line Fund, a growth and income vehicle whose five-year gains have averaged 188.7%. Bernhard himself has benefited mightily from its results. He holds nearly $90 million worth of the funds his company manages.

Despite his age, Value Line's founding father remains highly active in the company, putting in twelve-hour days at his Westport, Conn., home or the firm's Manhattan office. "He runs the place with an iron hand," says a former employee. Nonetheless, he has attracted notable talent. Otto Eckstein, the head of Data Resources, an econometric forecasting firm, was a summer intern at Value Line. John Shad, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, also was an employee.

Value Line is expected to remain a family-dominated concern even after it goes public. Five relatives sit with Bernhard on the nine-member board. They include his wife, his son and his daughter Jean Buttner, who in January was named vice chairman. That move apparently vexed Dorothy Berry, Value Line's president since 1979, who is leaving the company next month. Bernhard will then assume the role of president in addition to his job as chairman.

Bernhard says that he toyed with the idea of selling Value Line several times. American Express, CBS Inc. and the Washington Post Co. are among the companies that made offers for the firm, but such talks always collapsed, mainly because Bernhard wanted too much. Says he a bit puckishly: "If I sold, I would not be important any more."

Wall Street is showing great interest in the sale, which is expected to bring a price of $15 to $18 a share. But there is one stock on which Value Line is unlikely ever to give a report: its own. ■

"You're Going to Kill Us Both"

Martin Marietta's Pownall recalls his epic battle with Bendix

Thomas G. Pownall, 61, chairman of Martin Marietta and a survivor of last fall's great merger battle among Bendix, Allied and Martin Marietta, has emerged as a business folk hero. On the New York Stock Exchange floor a few days ago, traders eagerly shook his hand and told him that he had fundamentally altered the merger climate by proving that a takeover target could fight back and survive. At least three books are now being written on the whole saga, and several business schools are preparing courses on it. Pownall has turned down dozens of speaking invitations, including an offer to address the West Virginia state legislature.

Allied Chairman Edward Hennessy, 55, eventually won the battle by taking over Bendix and has since pushed out former Bendix Chairman William Agee, 45. Pownall, meanwhile, has added the title of chairman to that of president and chief executive officer of Martin Marietta. His company has issued new stock and sold off chemical, cement and mining interests to reduce the staggering $1.3 billion debt largely built up during the takeover defense. But Wall Street has voiced its confidence in Pownall by pushing up Martin Marietta's stock from 33⅛, its price at the beginning of the battle, to 51⅞.

In a long talk with TIME's Washington Contributing Editor Hugh Sidey, Pownall gave his first public reflections on the epic merger battle of 1982. Highlights of their conversation:

"The chances are fifty-fifty," said Pownall, "that if this were to have taken three months instead of one, it might have turned out differently. Agee did not pay any attention to us. If he had, he would have sensed how indignant we were right off. He never came to see me. His letter announcing the tender offer was a gun at my head.

"We were behind the power curve," he continued. "Everywhere we turned, they were there. They had signed up Hill & Knowlton and Bob Gray's public relations firms. They had called the generals and admirals in the Pentagon for whom we do work. I went over to see Frank Carlucci [then Deputy Secretary of Defense], and they had already seen him. They had called our aluminum customers. It was amazing."

Pownall's response was amazing also. Within 48 hours of the takeover bid, Martin Marietta's officers and board had concluded that Bendix would not be able to manage M-M's complex aerospace business. "Aerospace people think of themselves differently," said Pownall. "There is a special camaraderie. It is more than making money. We were glued together. We rode in the same cars, flew in the same airplanes. The fact is this was a truly great team effort, not just something that I did."

The American business community also gave some clear signals that it was rallying behind Pownall. When Martin Marietta was unable to get mid-Manhattan hotel rooms for the night before an important strategy session, Barron Hilton turned over his own Waldorf Towers suite to Pownall's five-man team.

D. ANA WALKER

Martin Marietta's Pownall in his den with a prized Cape buffalo

Now a folk hero, he fought back and survived a takeover bid.

Though Agee's move glittered on the surface, Martin Marietta learned quickly all was not well within Bendix. "There was internal evidence that came to us that the Bendix board was not enchanted with this episode, that Agee was traveling pretty much alone. Agee was operating with the investment bankers, largely outside the Bendix corporation. A couple of friends who called us said some of the Bendix people were just not aware of what was going on. When Agee and I finally met in New York, I asked him if he had approval of his board for what he was doing then. He said he had the necessary authority, that he only had to talk to two or three members. Our people got calls from former Bendix employees, and they talked about the 'unusual' Bendix management. It was more manipulating than managing. When it was all over, Mike Blumenthal [who served as chairman of Bendix before becoming Jimmy Carter's Treasury Secretary] came to me and apologized. I asked why, and he said, 'When I made Agee president, he was a different kind of man from the one he turned out to be.' "

With his board going in another direction, Agee's personal role became important. "I never disliked Agee," continued Pownall. "I still don't dislike Agee. What he did was not un-American. I had only met him once. I thought he was smart, shrewd, cunning, capable. I never believed that his wife [Mary Cunningham] was the force she really turned out to be. They were the action advocates totally. But we did not spend any time being angry. We really did not have any time to focus on individuals. I spent my time trying to figure out what sane people ought to be doing. Once in a while a hostile takeover is in the best interests of everybody. So we had to be sure that we were not just being insanely jealous, that we were not subliminally driven to say no at every turn. Was I trying to become King Kong? Was I doing what I was doing just because I did not want to work for Agee? After all, the men working on the problem in Martin Marietta would have been significantly better off financially if we had accepted the Bendix offer."

Pownall does not exempt himself from criticism. "I should have gone to see Agee personally at the moment we elected to go ahead and buy the Bendix stock. I should have gone to him and said, 'Bill, this is what we have done, and nothing can stop us now.' "

Weeks later, when Pownall finally saw Agee, the light was dawning. As Pownall remembers it, Agee said, "Gee, Tom, let's just find a way out of this. There is no sense for you to buy our stock. If you do, you're just going to kill us both." Pownall, reflecting on the $892.5 million his company paid for Bendix shares, now sighs and says: "If we'd only had a few more days for that idea to sink in. Perhaps we ought to have a mechanism that would slow the system down so that everybody can think before having to act."

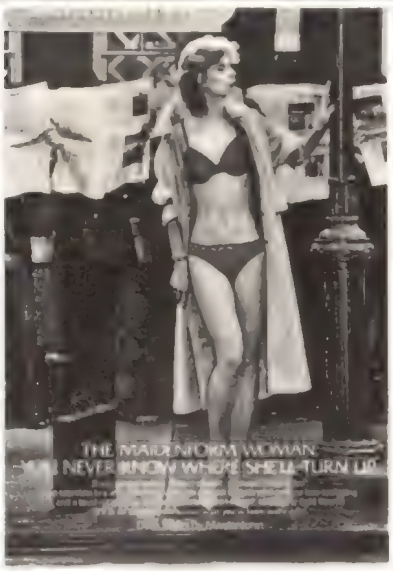
Pownall is now reluctant to declare himself a victor, feeling only that he made the best of a very bad situation. "We cannot be construed to have been a winner, but we have our dignity, and the character of the corporation is intact. We had a chance of being pushed over the cliff, and we are still on the cliff. It sure makes life sporty." ■

Cover Up

Maidenform blushes

It was one of history's best-known advertising campaigns and most recurrent dreams. For more than 20 years the Maidenform model said, "I dreamed I went shopping [or fought a bull, or barged down the Nile] in my Maidenform bra." The ads, featuring a winsome lady wearing nothing above the waist but a bra, appeared in more than 70 countries, starting in 1949, and helped propel the privately held company to the No. 2 spot in the intimate-apparel industry (1982 sales: $125 million)

In 1969, however, as more women opted to pursue careers, the fantasy theme was dropped. Explains President Beatrice Coleman: "We felt that the ads no longer appealed to younger women." In the late '70s, Maidenform began to depict women as doctors, lawyers, stockbrokers and even a basketball referee, with the slogan "The Maidenform woman. You never know where she'll turn up." But since the company wanted to show its products, the ads now featured scantily clad models hanging around a hospital room or a train station with fully clothed men



An ad campaign some women found offensive

Many women were outraged. "Extremely distasteful," wrote Dr. Anne L. Barlow, president of the American Medical Women's Association, in a letter protesting the ad about the woman doctor. In 1981 and 1982, the New York City–based Women Against Pornography gave the Maidenform ads a ZAP award for sexist advertising.

Maidenform has now replaced its ad agency, Creamer Inc., with Wyse Advertising. President Lois Wyse, who has written 30 volumes of love poetry, says her campaign will emphasize "romance rather than blatant sexuality." Maidenform, though, insists that it will continue to display its products in its ads. Says Edward Kantrowitz, vice president for advertising: "The only way you can show our merchandise properly is to put it on models." ■

Dividends

Rolls-Royce Fire Sale

The price of prestige plunged last week. Faced with sluggish sales, the U.S. distributor for Britain's Rolls-Royce Motors, makers of the world's most elegant line of automobiles, slashed prices on all Rolls models. The cost of a sleek Silver Spirit, the cheapest Rolls, dropped from $111,000 to $93,000, while the price for a top-of-the-line Corniche convertible fell from $162,500 to $148,500.

Since 1978 the cost of the least expensive Rolls had surged from $55,900 to $111,000. Rolls-Royce sales in the U.S. slumped last year to 908, down from 1,158 in 1981. Says Charles Bamberger, vice president of Manhattan's Carriage House Motor Cars, a Rolls-Royce dealership: "Even to satisfy their egos, many people were not quite willing to go into six figures for a car."

Rolls dealers welcomed the price cuts, but they do not expect a dramatic rise in sales. They point out that for most Rolls buyers, who in the past have included George Bernard Shaw, Ernest Hemingway, Greta Garbo and Reggie Jackson, price remains a secondary consideration

U.S. Gold Over the Counter

Following President Reagan's philosophy that private enterprise can do most things better than the Government, the Treasury Department announced last week that it has enlisted a private company to boost the lackluster business in U.S. gold medallions. The coins, previously sold only by the Postal Service, will now be distributed by J. Aron & Co., a Manhattan-based precious-metals dealer, and sold by some 3,000 banks, brokerage-house branches and coin shops.

The Treasury began minting 1-oz. and ½-oz. gold medallions in 1980 to compete with popular foreign coins, particularly the South African Krugerrand and the Canadian Maple Leaf. Since then

American goldbugs have bought only 603,000 oz. of U.S. medallions, compared with at least 6 million oz. of Krugerrand and Maple Leaf coins.

The problem, apparently, has been the ponderous Postal Service. Buyers had to wait as long as two months to receive their gold in the mail. In contrast, dealers sell the Krugerrand and Maple Leaf over the counter for cash or certified checks

Dealers will sell the U.S. coins at prices based on the going rate for gold bullion, plus sales tax and a commission expected to range from 4% to 8%. Late last week shoppers in New York City could pick up a shiny new 1-oz. medallion bearing the likeness of Louis Armstrong for $495.79.

The New Valley Boys

The fast-growing electronics firms of California's Silicon Valley, which are renowned for their blue-jeaned whiz kids, are now seeking pinstripe talent skilled in the Big Business techniques of mass marketing. In the past six months, Valley firms have lured several officers away from major American corporations. Apple, a pioneer in personal computers, has hired a new chief executive: John Sculley, 44, who was president of Pepsi-Cola. Osborne, the leading maker of portable computers, recruited as its chief executive Robert Jaunich, 43, former president of Consolidated Foods. Atari, a strong force in home computers as well as video games, has snared a string of executives from such companies as Polaroid and Bristol-Myers

The Valley is turning from Levi's to pinstripes to prepare for a bruising marketing battle. It is no longer good enough to have just a flashy computer. The product must now be sold in a fiercely competitive market. Since entering the personal-computer field in August 1981, IBM has gained a 22.5% market share, second only to Apple's 29.4%. Apple's new chief claims he welcomes the challenge. The goal, says Sculley, is for "the Pepsi generation to become the Apple generation."

EMERY

WORLDWIDE

URGENT LETTER

INTRODUCING THE EMERY URGENT LETTER. FOUR FULL OUNCES IN A FULL-SIZED ENVELOPE FOR JUST $11.00.

The new Emery Urgent Letter is the overnight letter that lets you send up to twenty pages or four full ounces desk-to-desk across America for just $11.00.

Emery also gave the Urgent Letter a specially lined, full-sized 9" x 12" envelope to ensure that your papers slide in easily and safely without folding.

The more important papers you send, the more you need the Emery Urgent Letter. Try it and find out how well it meets your most urgent overnight shipping needs.

Wivenhoe Park, Essex, 1816: both real and ideal, almost the last word on Eden-as-Property

The Wordsworth of Landscape

At the Metropolitan, a retrospective of Constable's Arcadia

John Constable (1776-1837) remains the great example of the Englishness of English art. In his work even God is an Englishman. What other deity could have created those ripe interfolding fields, that mildly blowing air, that dewy sparkle on the face of a static world? Constable did to the perception of landscape in paint what William Wordsworth did to it in verse: he threw out the allegorical fauna that had infested it since Milton and the rococo—nymphs, satyrs, dryads, Vergilian shepherds and Ovidian spring deities—and substituted Natural Vision for the Pathetic Fallacy.

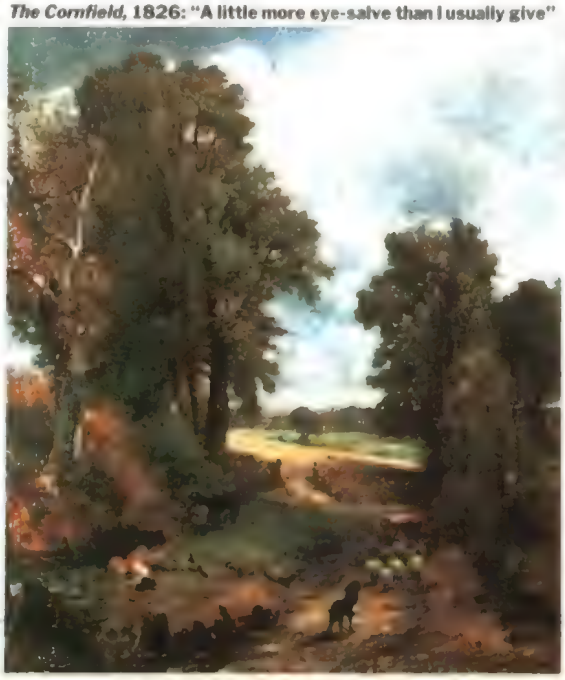
Between them, Constable and J.M.W. Turner define the supreme achievements of landscape painting in Europe in the first half of the 19th century, but Constable was by temperament incapable of reaching for Turner's ever mutating rhetoric of sublime effects. His work was more staid, more modest, less conspicuously "inventive." Painting, he considered, was "a branch of natural philosophy, of which my pictures are but the experiments." From Nicholas Hilliard's Elizabethan miniatures through Rupert Brooke's pastoral poetry, a deep love of the particulars of landscape, nose thrust in the hedgerow, has always been central to English culture. No wonder, then, that Constable's following is large and loyal. His landscape is just what the English feel nostalgic for as they dodge trucks on the bypass amid the billboards and concrete goosenecks. It is conservatism writ in leaves and wheat.

Constable has always had an American following too, but the exhibition of 64 of his paintings and oil sketches that went on view at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City last week is the first such "retrospective" in the U.S. for 30 years. It is, necessarily, a modest affair compared with the immense Constable show at the Tate Gallery in 1976, which was the kind of exhibition that defines the image of an artist for a generation. Many favorites are not here, starting with *The Hay Wain*, the most reproduced landscape in English painting—a sort of vegetative *Mona Lisa*. But the show was curated by the world's leading Constable specialist, Graham Reynolds, formerly of London's Victoria and Albert Museum, and it serves as a delightful refresher course for those who know Constable and a brilliant introduction for those who do not.

Peace, security, the untroubled enjoyment of unproblematic Nature: such is the main motif of Constable's work. One might suppose that it would have made him popular in his lifetime, but English connoisseurs were far more receptive to Turner, the romantic with wider moods and more liberal feelings. An archconservative who longed for institutional acceptance but was denied it most of his life—he was not elected to the Royal Academy until age 52, and even then he had the humiliation of seeing his first entry as a member to its annual show rejected by his colleagues—Constable did not have the knack of getting on with clients or fellow artists. He was timid, prickly, complacent and sardonic by turns. "Why, this is not drawing, but *inspiration!*" exclaimed William Blake over one of his tree studies. "I never knew it before," Constable snapped. "I meant it for drawing."

At times, in his copious letters, one senses the veerings and fragile boastfulness of a manic-depressive. He was not a sociable painter, which at least saved him from being a society artist; he disliked painting people, though he turned out quite a few routine portraits of country-seats. In his emotional uncertainty and fear of change, he was the stuff of which rank-and-file Tories are made. He did not so much idealize stability as worship it, and as a result his entire view of rural England presents Arcadia in a new guise. One could never imagine, looking at his paintings of Dedham Vale and the River Stour, that the placid shires of the 1820s and '30s looked very different to the writer and reformer William Cobbett, that they were full of rick burners, machine breakers, hanging judges and posses of brutal yeomanry.

The Cornfield, 1826: "A little more eye-salve than I usually give"



The most Arcadian picture in this show is *Wivenhoe Park, Essex*, 1816, almost the last word on Eden-as-Property. The enameled lawns and bulky cows, the relaxed zigzag of planes leading the eye toward the pink villa, the swans and fishermen riding on a serene sheet of water stitched with silver light: this is the epitome of civilized landscape. Like the best work of Jacob van Ruisdael, the 17th century Dutchman whom Constable considered a master of "natural" vision, *Wivenhoe Park* manages to be both real and ideal; it is a powerful (though subdued) instrument of fantasy as well as an exact rendition of General Rebow's family seat.

Constable was a painter of substance, not fantasy; but imagination rises through the substance. His earliest childhood memories, the elements of his genetic code as a painter, were all about the weight and noise and

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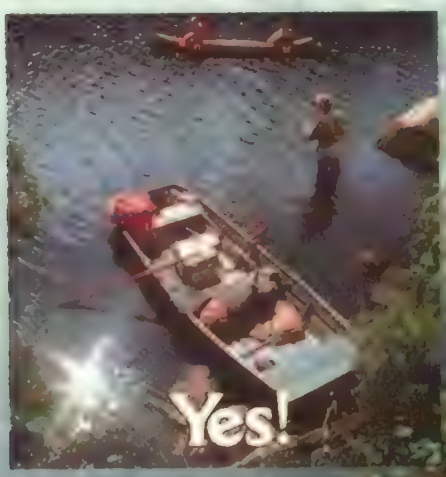

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feel of things he grew up with as a well-off son of a water-mill owner in Suffolk, on the River Stour. "The sound of water escaping from Mill dams . . . willows, Old rotten Banks, slimy posts, and brickwork. I love such things," he wrote to a friend. "They made me a painter (and I am grateful) . . . I had often thought of pictures of them before I had ever touched a pencil."

No wonder that, in a painter with so pronounced a taste for the specific, there was a constant argument between stereotypes and things seen. Constable loved his masters: Claude Lorrain, Ruisdael, Gaspard Poussin. Some of his most delectable paintings, such as *The Cornfield*, 1826, rely on the Claudean use of dark *repoussoir* trees framing a view of bright space at the center, and this can make them too charming to a modern eye. Constable himself remarked that *The Cornfield* "has certainly got a little more eye-salve than I usually condescend to give." But the great fact of nature, as Benjamin West had pointed out to Constable, was change. Shadows, vapors, clouds, the dewiness of grass in the morning, the dryness of leaves in the evening: nothing is fixed in a schema. Constable became convinced that he must overcome the stasis that convention and idealism produce in art: his project would then be, as he put it, "to arrest the more abrupt and transient appearances of the Chiaroscuro in Nature . . . to give 'to one brief moment, caught from fleeting time' a lasting and sober existence . . ."

Hence the hundreds of studies of clouds and sky and rain squalls, the sifting of light down on Hampstead Heath, the endless particularations (never meant to be exhibited as final pictures) of small divisions of time, no two of which were the same. And hence, above all, the quality of Constable's mature work that seems so puzzlingly modern, a prediction of impressionism: the thick paint. By his late years he was piling it on with a palette knife in higher and higher tones, all the way up to pure flake white, in an effort to render the broken luminosity he saw in nature. There are moments when one feels the subject needs disinterring from the mass of pigment, but the expressive gains were sometimes enormous.

Never more so than in *Hadleigh Castle*, 1829. Constable brought to his view of the castle (which overlooks the Thames estuary) a pressure of melancholy: he was painting this desolate shore from memory, and his beloved wife Maria had just died of consumption. The paint is crusted, layer over layer, like mortar; even the grass and mallows in the foreground seem fossilized, and the broken tower—taller in art than in life—has an Ossianic misery to it. Then one's eye escapes to the horizon, glittering with scumbled white light, like a promise of resurrection. The whole image is as intense as anything in Turner: "melancholy grandeur," as Constable put it, the very essence of Romanticism and thus one of the key images of the English imagination. —*By Robert Hughes*

Theater

Three Cheers and a Kowtow

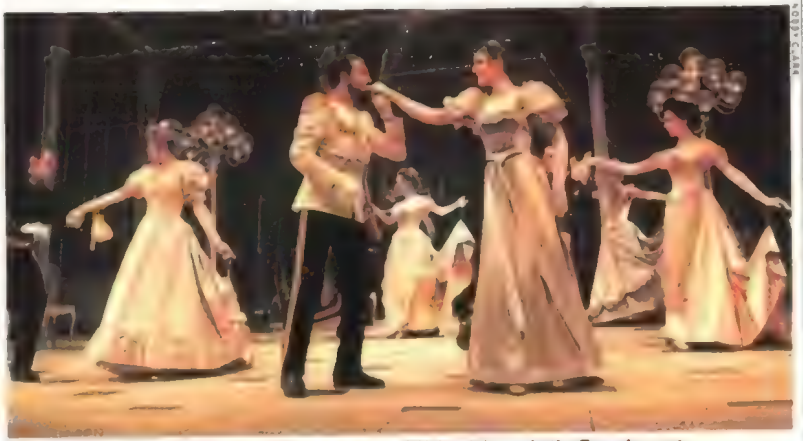
ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL *by William Shakespeare*

"Brush up your Shakespeare," sang a pair of rogues in Cole Porter's *Kiss Me, Kate*, "and they'll all kowtow." As master artificer of Britain's Royal Shakespeare Company, Director Trevor Nunn has applied brush, tweezers, rouge and style to this dowager of a "problem play." He has outfitted her in the decorous billows and sashes of Edwardian England, taught her to sing and dance, sent her on a grand tour of *Belle Epoque* France and war-weary Italy. Now, fresh from triumphs in Stratford-upon-Avon and London, this radiant creature has come to charm Broadway for 16 weeks. Three cheers and a kowtow are in order.

The play has always needed sprucing up, from the moment Shakespeare used the motley of farce to clothe his meditation on "class"—on the battle in every society between rank and value, between nobility in title and nobility of the soul. Helena (Harriet Walter), a physician's daughter living in the care of the Countess of Rossillion (Margaret Tyzack), is desperately in love with the Countess's son Bertram (Philip Franks); but Bertram, influenced by the pompous Captain Parolles (Stephen Moore), refuses to love a woman of low station, especially when forced into marriage with her. Deception and humiliation bring Parolles to his knees and Bertram, ultimately, to his senses.

Evidence suggests that *All's Well* lay underappreciated and unproduced in the First Folio for more than a century. The reasons are not hard to guess. Shakespeare gave his play the structure but not the spirit of a romance, and gave the leading female characters most of the good lines and gracious impulses. Commentators from Coleridge to Shaw have praised Helena and the Countess as among the "loveliest" and "most charming" of Shakespeare's heroines, while dismissing Bertram and Parolles as unworthy of the ladies' or our interest. By Act V, Helena's passion for her unrequiting snob has become an act of beatific willfulness and the stuff of gaslight melodrama.

Nunn demonstrates, as he did in his productions of *Nicholas Nickleby* and *Cats*, that he is a showman-scholar who can infuse the most daunting of projects with whirlwind grandeur. Under John Gunter's airy greenhouse of a set, *All's Well* teems with musical-comedy bustle: dashing cadets in aviator goggles, marching bands and sultry chanteuses, and a Florence railway station full of Nunn's beloved smoke effects. But there is gravity



The king (Franklyn-Robbins) and his commoner (Walter) dance in the French court

Beneath the play's whirlwind grandeur, a valse triste *of Chekhovian wistfulness.*

here as well as buoyancy. A mood of Chekhovian wistfulness is set at the start with the *valse triste* of a young couple fated to part, and Nunn spends the next 3¼ hours indicating that Bertram and Helena may never be suited to each other, even at the end. Bertram has surrendered, but with *noblesse oblige;* Helena has won her man, but perhaps not his love.

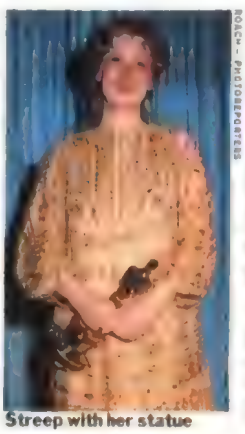
There are some lovely performances. Stephen Moore's Parolles is a Falstaff in everything but girth and sympathy; Margaret Tyzack is a sweetly brooding auntie of a Countess; John Franklyn-Robbins, as the King of France, is a regal master of ceremonies. While Harriet Walter shows intimations of a major talent, her Helena is a festival of quivering mannerisms, a sprightly suffragette. Through the actors, and occasionally in spite of the text, Nunn has devised an elegant evening on the need to be loved and the danger of being too greatly loved. —*By Richard Corliss*

Director Attenborough, Star Kingsley, Film Editor Bloom and their tableful of trophies

History Crunches Popcorn

Gandhi *captures the prize Oscars from* E.T.

Americans must love the movies. Why else would they spend 3½ hours every spring watching what may be the dullest show on earth—the Oscars? But, then, they may merely like puzzles, such as this year's: Why were the musical numbers so bad? Why was the multiuntalented Peter Allen chosen to sing and dance a medley of Irving Berlin songs, when he can do neither? Or, more to the point, why was *Gandhi*, good as it is, chosen Best Picture over *E.T., the Extra-Terrestrial*, the most popular movie of the year and the highest grosser (more than $350 million) of all time?



Streep with her statue

Except for *Gandhi*, most of the major winners were hardly surprises. Meryl Streep was named Best Actress for her dazzling performance as the doomed survivor of the Nazi camps in *Sophie's Choice*. Ben Kingsley won the Best Actor award for his uncanny portrayal of Mahatma Gandhi; Louis Gossett Jr. was chosen Best Supporting Actor for his hard-nosed drill sergeant in *An Officer and a Gentleman;* and Jessica Lange, who was also running in the Best Actress category for *Frances*, was picked as Best Supporting Actress for playing the girl who gets the girl, Dustin Hoffman, in *Tootsie*.

E.T., which appeared almost certain to sweep many of the top prizes just a few months ago, managed, by contrast, to crawl away with only four minor trophies. *Gandhi* took most of the awards *E.T.* was expected to get, including Best Director (Richard Attenborough), Best Original Screenplay (John Briley), Best Cinematography (Billy Williams and Ronnie Taylor) and Best Film Editing (John Bloom). All in all, the 3-hr. 5-min. epic won eight prizes, more than any other film since *Cabaret*, which snatched eight in 1972.

The triumph of *Gandhi* was so sweeping that many people in the industry viewed it as a deliberate rebuke of *E.T.* and Steven Spielberg, its creator, producer and director. Though he is only 35, Spielberg has directed four of the ten biggest moneymakers in Hollywood history, including, besides *E.T., Raiders of the Lost Ark, Jaws* and *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*. Yet neither he nor any of his pictures has ever won a major award.

Even *Tootsie's* director, Sydney Pollack, who was competing against Spielberg, voiced misgivings about this year's snub. "The entire world has endorsed everything Steven has ever done, and the academy ignored it," he said. "Probably Steven's hair must get whiter before he can win." In an interview with the Los Angeles *Times*, Spielberg openly expressed his disappointment: "I've been around long enough to know that people who deserve Oscars don't always win them. The tendency is for important films to win over popcorn entertainment. History is more weighty than popcorn."

Spielberg

That, even more than any backlash against Spielberg, seemed to be the reason for *Gandhi's* success: all appearances to the contrary, the 3,953 members of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences like to think of themselves as responsible citizens. Given the choice between a serious movie and one that is merely entertaining, they will almost always choose the former. Examples in the past: *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* over *Jaws* (1975) and *Gentleman's Agreement* over *Miracle on 34th Street* (1947).

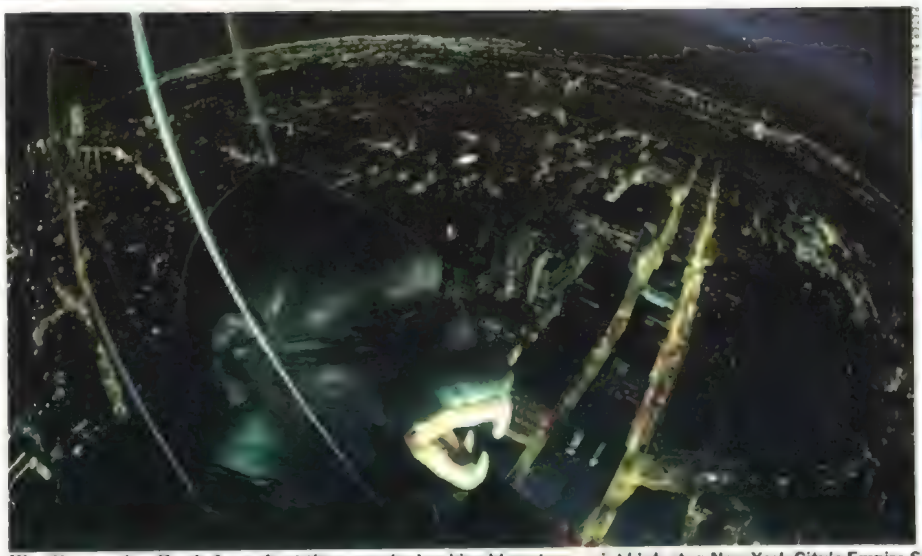
This year, says Producer Lester Persky (*Taxi Driver*), "they voted for everything they thought was noble. *Gandhi* was a good, safe vote for people who wanted to look above their bellybuttons." Wrote Columnist Joe Morgenstern in the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner:* "*Gandhi* was everything the voting members of the academy would like to be: moral, tan and thin."

Academy Awards reflect the concerns of the time as well as the merits of the films themselves; a winner one year might be rejected the next, when the public's mood has shifted to a different topic. This year's dominant concern surely is fear of war, and *Gandhi* has had a ready and receptive audience. "People are preoccupied with destruction and nuclear war, and this story of nonviolence is irresistible," says Pollack. "When the academy voted, it was saying, 'This is the most important subject in the world, and this picture must be rewarded.' "

That, at least, was the opinion of the winners themselves, who in speeches that occasionally verged on the sanctimonious, continually invoked the magic name of Gandhi. "I believe he had something to say to all of us everywhere in the world," said Attenborough, as he accepted the award for Best Picture. "In all truth, it is not me . . . that you truly honor. You honor Mahatma Gandhi and his plea to all of us to live in peace." In India, where *Gandhi* is a smash, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (no kin) used almost the same phrases, adding that Gandhi's ideals are "very relevant in a world of increasing violence."

Peace and good will on earth are clearly what most of the voters believed in as well. E.T. is peaceful too, but he is sitting there in his galaxy 3 million light years away. He will have to be satisfied with those Reese's Pieces that he used to munch and, if he wants it, a pot of gold awaiting him here below. *—By Gerald Clarke. Reported by Joseph J. Kane/Los Angeles and Janice C. Simpson/New York*

People



King Kong redux, if only for a short time, perched on his old vantage point high atop New York City's Empire State Building

In the years since the release of the **Merian C. Cooper** classic *King Kong*, time has taken its toll on the beast and his splendid art-deco perch. The Empire State Building is no longer the world's tallest building, and **King Kong** is not the young buck he used to be either. This month, to celebrate the film's 50th anniversary, these two critical elements of the beauty-and-the-beast tale were reunited: a ten-story, 3,000-lb. inflatable Kong (at 84 ft., more than 30 ft. taller than the original) was hoisted a quarter-mile in the air to his old haunt atop the Empire State. Even without the menacing biplanes, Kong fared poorly, with tangled cables and tears in his heavy vinyl-coated nylon skin. But after a week of deflating mishaps, the balloon's builders, who plan to take the ape on tour this year, finally got the weather and mild winds they had prayed for. And lo, as blowers pumped air through Kong's toes, the creature filled out to his full, magnificent size, producing one of the most striking sights ever added to the Manhattan skyline. (The original, of course, only climbed a model.) Alas, the King's stay was short-lived. Yet another tear developed, and after only a day of glory, the mighty Kong lay hanging off the building's spire like an old brown garbage bag. It was beauty killed the beast last time, mundane nylon failure this outing.

■

At 6 ft. 5 in. and with a handsome Guardsman's mustache, Photographer **Norman Parkinson,** 69, can certainly hold his own in front of the camera's lens. As Britain's premier fashion photographer, he hasn't done all that badly behind it either. Joining him at Sotheby's in New York City last week for a one-man show of prints taken from his new book, *Fifty Years of Style and Fashion*, were two of his favorite models: **Iman** and **Mick Jagger**'s current flame, **Jerry Hall.** Before the opening, Parkinson reports, he gave each model a piece of paper and asked her to name the one other woman she would like to be. Each wrote down the same answer: **Dolly Parton.** "No matter how beautiful a woman is," opines the photographer, "she always worries whether her breasts are too small." As for Parkinson's pick as the most beautiful woman in the world? **Elizabeth Taylor,** says he. "Others go in and out. Her beauty is lasting." Swallow hard, **Joan Rivers.**

■

For European royalty, affairs of the heart must sometimes take a back seat in the Rolls-Royce of life to the affairs of church and state. Last week, for example, rumors surfaced of a September wedding between Monaco's **Princess Caroline,** 26, and **Robertino Rossellini,** 33, the son of **Ingrid Bergman** and Film Maker **Roberto Rossellini.** No sooner said than scotched. "If ever she decides to marry, the announcement will come from the palace," chilled the Grimaldi press representative. Though the pair are clearly a couple, a nuptial announcement does seem some time off. Caroline was granted a divorce from Eurolizard **Philippe Junot** in 1980, but her application to the Vatican for an official annulment must be granted before a second marriage would be recognized in the eyes of the church. The Pope must directly okay all royal annulments (so as to avoid pressure on local clerics), and the Vatican does not necessarily speed the wheels of bureaucracy. So a final decree might not be forthcoming until November or later.

—By E. Graydon Carter

Parkinson flanked by favorite Cover Subjects Iman and Hall

On the Record

Prince Charles, 34, on the countless rooms in Buckingham Palace: "I haven't counted them. There are some we haven't been in, but quite a few people might have been living in them for several years unbeknownst."

Richard Lamm, 47, Governor of Colorado, on the old adage that the economy follows women's skirt lengths: "Hemlines now are just below the knee but split to the thigh. I'm not sure what that means."

Which U.S. Orchestras Are Best?

Rising standards outside the Big Five create a new elite

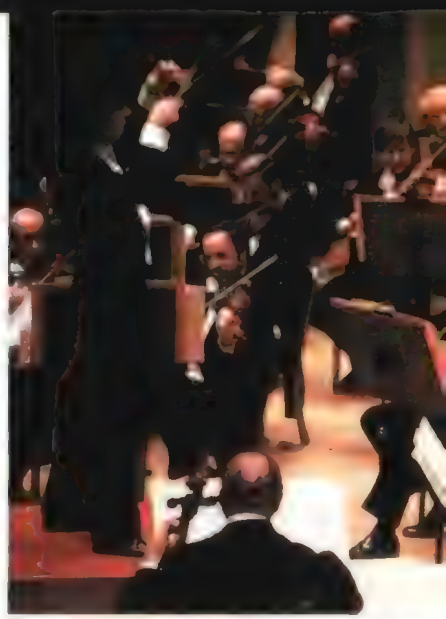
Their players are highly skilled specialists, prized for their uncommon physical abilities and welded into a team by a strong figure of authority. Their seasons are long, routinely lasting from early fall to late spring and often extending into the summer. Their budgets run into the millions of dollars; their fans are numerous. Heard on radio and seen on television, they have become symbols of their cities, sources of local pride and the subject of endless arguments over which is best.

The Washington Redskins, Dallas Cowboys and their fellow gridiron gladiators? No, far less violent. The Boston Red Sox, New York Yankees and the rest of the major leagues? No, even more sophisticated and spiritually uplifting. These are the major symphony orchestras of America, a group of 20 or so crack ensembles that are flourishing artistically as never before. In unprecedented numbers, they are setting new standards of excellence in performance. In the process, they are changing the face of the country's traditional orchestral establishment. Declares Sir Georg Solti, music director of the Chicago Symphony: "American orchestras are undoubtedly superior to any, except one or two European orchestras. The standard of orchestral playing in America, all over the country, is amazing."

For years it was commonly agreed that there was a Big Five among U.S. orchestras: in alphabetical order, the Boston Symphony, the Chicago Symphony, the Cleveland Orchestra, the New York Philharmonic and the Philadelphia Orchestra. For the most part, they were the orchestras with the biggest annual budgets and, partly as a result, the best musicians. They had lucrative recording contracts and the most eminent conductors. They were all located in important cities, with access to large populations, wealth and influential critics, whose regular attention enhanced their reputations.

Today the idea of a Big Five has generally lost its validity. "On any given night, one can hear a concert of excellent quality," says Stephen Sell, executive director of the Philadelphia Orchestra. "There probably hasn't been a Big Five for half a decade." Agrees John Edwards, executive vice president and general manager of the Chicago Symphony and, at 70, the dean of U.S. orchestra administrators: "Basically, the concept of a Big Five is outmoded." Determined by the musicians' technical command, the conductor's leadership and the intangible element of inspiration, excellence is no longer quite so exclusive. A current ranking of the country's best orchestras, in order of achievement:

The Chicago Symphony. Winner and still champion, Solti's virtuosic ensemble has been the finest in the U.S. for more than a decade, and was often close to the top under earlier music directors like Fritz Reiner (1953-62). The orchestra's strengths are its burnished brass and taut, lean, precise string section, which give its performances a crispness and vitality that are the despair of its rivals. "I have never had a better-spirited orchestra than this one," says Solti, 70. "If they have a conductor they respect, they will go through hell for him." The Chicago spirit is evident both in music of the classical period, like Mozart's, and in the great romantic works: Mahler and Bruckner symphonies and Strauss tone poems. Last week's dazzling performance under Solti of Wagner's complete opera *Das Rheingold* matched an orchestra at the top of its form with a conductor at the height of his interpretive prowess.



Still champion: the Chicago Symphony under Solti

Slatkin conducting the St. Louis Symphony; below, Symphony Hall in Salt Lake City

The St. Louis Symphony. Founded in 1880, this orchestra is the country's second oldest (after the 140-year-old New York Philharmonic) but is still youthful by virtue of its many young players. Building on the legacy of sober, European conductors like Vladimir Golschmann and Walter Susskind, St. Louis has come into its own as a tightly disciplined ensemble under the impressively gifted American conductor Leonard Slatkin, 38. Like the Chicago Symphony, which it resembles in

Guest Conductor Claudio Abbado; inset, Music Director Solti

style and flair, the St. Louis Symphony is at its best in big pieces, but of a more recent vintage: Rachmaninoff's orchestral music, Shostakovich and Prokofiev symphonies. Good as the orchestra is, its fortunes remain closely tied to Slatkin's.

The Boston Symphony. The patrician Boston Symphony is the quintessential major orchestra: old (101) and wealthy, with a comfortable home in the acoustically excellent Symphony Hall and a bucolic summer retreat at Tanglewood, in the Berkshires. All this would not be worth much, though, if the orchestra did not play so consistently well: under music directors as disparate in taste and talents as Serge Koussevitzky, Charles Munch, Erich Leinsdorf and, now, Seiji Ozawa, 47, it has repeatedly demonstrated its ability to adapt to almost any type of music or conductorial style. Boston's full strings, warm winds and elegant brass are always in bloom.

Full strings, warm winds and elegant brass: the Boston Symphony under Ozawa

The Philadelphia Orchestra. During their 44 years under Conductor Eugene Ormandy, the Philadelphians became known for their exceptionally rich string tone, at least partly produced by compensating for the dry acoustics in their home, the Academy of Music; curiously, the "Philadelphia sound" could not be fully appreciated in Philadelphia, but only in a sympathetic environment like New York's Carnegie Hall. Under Riccardo Muti, 41, the Italian conductor who succeeded Ormandy in the 1980-81 season, the sound is losing its sometimes overripe fullness and becoming leaner, with greater prominence being given to the winds and brass. The adjustment, though, is not being accomplished without some temporary loss of stature; and Muti so far is more convincing in opera than in orchestral music.

The Los Angeles Philharmonic. With a conductor like Carlo Maria Giulini, 68, an annual budget of $17 million and record appearances on Deutsche Grammophon, the Los Angeles Philharmonic has the credentials for membership in the elect. Its sound is far from the brilliance of Chicago or St. Louis; Giulini, the eminent Italian conductor, has based the sonority he wants on the lower strings, giving the orchestra a deep, dark tone. Instead of the flashy, glittery ensemble one might expect to find in Los Angeles, the Philharmonic is a sober, serious orchestra. Like Giulini, it is at its best in the romantic era.

The Cleveland Orchestra. Under the late George Szell, the Clevelanders were honed into an ensemble of breathtaking precision, eminently suited to the music of Mozart. During the regime of Conductor Lorin Maazel (1972-82), Szell's high technical standards were maintained, but the sound of the orchestra became fuller, richer and more flexible, and thus up to the challenge of the romantic repertory; by the end of Maazel's tenure, the Cleveland Orchestra was the best-sounding band in the land. Today, standards have unavoidably slipped a bit as the orchestra awaits the arrival in 1984-85 of Maazel's German-born successor, Christoph von Dohnányi, 53.

The New York Philharmonic. The problem child among orchestras, the Philharmonic is like the little girl with the curl. Plagued by a reputation as a temperamental aggregation, it sometimes lives up to it, as it did last year on the occasion of its 10,000th concert when it delivered a ragged account of Mahler's *Resurrection Symphony*. Yet under Music Director Zubin Mehta, 46, it can also deliver a blistering performance of something as difficult as Schoenberg's expressionist opera *Erwartung*, as it did recently with Soprano Hildegarde Behrens. Among other distinctions, the Philharmonic is the most unpredictable orchestra in America.

The San Francisco Symphony. Another West Coast success story is the San Francisco Symphony's rise to prominence, not as spectacular as that of the Los Angeles Philharmonic but no less sure. Dutch Conductor Edo de Waart, 41, is no match for Giulini in glamour, and in a city still carrying a torch for De Waart's splashy predecessor, Ozawa, De Waart is often criticized for not being exciting enough. But his tireless work with his orchestra since the 1977-78 season has paid off in an alert, responsive ensemble, and the results show up handsomely in music close to De Waart's heart, such as Mozart and the Rachmaninoff symphonies.

The Pittsburgh Symphony. With André Previn, 54, at its helm, the Pittsburgh Symphony achieved a high profile, thanks

to the PBS television series *Previn and the Pittsburgh*. Similar in sound to the Los Angeles Philharmonic, the Pittsburgh Symphony is a dark-toned ensemble that is especially good in the romantic showpieces and in the music of English composers like Elgar and Vaughan Williams, a passion of the England-based Previn.

The blurring of the distinction between the former Big Five and other U.S. orchestras has been due not to a serious decline at the top, but to a striking improvement in other ensembles in the country. Even the nine elite listed above are distinguished from the next level of orchestras by the equivalent of no more than a few hemidemisemiquavers.

The Minnesota Orchestra, for example, needs only for Conductor Neville Marriner to become more at home in the large-orchestra repertory for it to be a serious contender. The Dallas Symphony has one of the finest string sections in the country, but is interpretatively hampered by its prosaic conductor, Eduardo Mata. Washington's National Symphony, another orchestra with the capacity to rise, may yet regret its Faustian bargain with Conductor Mstislav Rostropovich, the ebullient master cellist who gives it great media attention and a passionate commitment to Russian music but otherwise generally undistinguished musical leadership. Still more able orchestras can be found in Cincinnati, Houston, Rochester, Baltimore, Detroit and Atlanta.

CARL SKALAK

String players of the Cleveland Orchestra performing in concert

Like a championship team, executing with precision and grace.

Because the turnover in the old Big Five is so low, America's crop of young, conservatory-trained symphonic players—by common consent the best in the world—have flooded the ranks of the second-tier orchestras. A noteworthy result is that groups like the Buffalo Philharmonic, the Denver Symphony or the Utah Symphony often can play contemporary music better than some of the top-ranked ensembles; what these musicians may lack in individual instrumental richness they more than make up for in their ability to sight-read the most fearsome modern score with ease.

Like a championship team, a great orchestra executes its tasks with precision, élan and grace. String sections attack and release a note together, blending their sounds to form a single smooth line. Woodwinds have a distinctive character that lets them stand out against the full orchestra, yet merge back into it when necessary. Brass players keep their often recalcitrant instruments under beguilingly complete control; when a trumpeter reaches for a high note, there is no uncertainty that it will come out right. Overseeing all this is the music director, who balances the orchestra's component parts and gives the ensemble character. He breathes a unified spirit into an aggregation that may number more than 100. "It is the artistic vision of the conductor that impels everyone forward," says Kenneth Haas, Cleveland's general manager. "Without someone of great vision, great ears, great interpretations, great depth, you can have the greatest musicians on the face of the earth and you still won't have a great orchestra."

An acoustically sympathetic environment is almost as important. Although a good hall cannot make an orchestra sound better than it really is, it can allow it to reach its potential unhindered. San Francisco's artistic emergence has been closely related to its 1980 move from the dry War Memorial Opera House to the more resonant Louise M. Davies Symphony Hall. Some of the steady improvement in the Minnesota Orchestra is attributable to the lively Orchestra Hall, its home since 1974. The Utah Symphony's warm, responsive Symphony Hall in Salt Lake City, built in 1979, is the most impressive of all. The work of Acoustician Cyril Harris, it is as good as Boston's Symphony Hall, long considered the ideal. "A hall is both an inspiration and a challenge to an orchestra," says Richard Cisek, president of the Minnesota Orchestral Association. "A bad hall finds an orchestra trying to compensate for it, whereas a good hall lets the musicians very quickly know how well they're performing."

Money is also a critical element, for the best orchestras have tended to be the richest. Boston's annual budget, for example, is $20 million, and Chicago's $16 million. "There isn't a one-to-one correlation between money and having a great orchestra," says Richard Bibler, president of the promising Milwaukee Symphony, which gets by on a budget of about $5 million a year, "but there is a gross correlation." Says Patricia Corbett, who, like her husband J. Ralph Corbett, is a prominent Cincinnati philanthropist: "An orchestra can be anything you want it to be if you are willing to pay the budget."

Others disagree with this notion, however, saying that tradition is equally important. "You can't simply buy a great orchestra," says Boston's Morris. "You have to build a tradition, and preserve it." Lukas Foss, Milwaukee's conductor, puts it bluntly: "Money makes you famous, not great."

While patrician orchestras such as Boston, Cleveland and Philadelphia, with their large subscriber lists and potent fund-raising capabilities, continue to operate without a financial loss, others are almost perennially troubled. The Buffalo Philharmonic, nearly $1 million in debt, scaled back its season last year from 48 to 40 weeks; the Detroit Symphony, suffering along with its city from the recession, has an accumulated deficit of nearly $2.7 million. Despite Rostropovich's name value, the National Symphony showed a $2.2 million loss last year.

Such economic disparity leads some to call for increased governmental support for the arts, to supplement the important financial contributions already being made by individuals, foundations and corporations. In the U.S., federal, state and local aid does not compare with artistic subsidies in most European countries. The separation of arts and state has had one beneficial side effect, though: because American orchestras are rarely very far from the brink, they are forced to make their product appeal to as wide an audience as possible. On the other hand, fiscal constraints often force conservatism in choice of repertory, with unfamiliar or contemporary music slighted so as not to offend those concertgoers principally attracted by the Beethoven symphonies.

No matter how accomplished orchestras become, there will always be differences of opinion among music lovers as to which is best. Once technical mastery is achieved, variations in sound and style become purely matters of taste. As conductors and personnel change, relative rankings will also change. Observes Solti: "Someone once said, 'To arrive at the top is difficult, but not impossible. To stay there is damned hard.' " But within the grouping at the top, the world-class orchestras can be counted on to show consistency and staying power, essential elements of their greatness. As the Cincinnati Symphony's general manager, Steven Monder, puts it, "I don't think an orchestra has a good concert or a good season or a good couple of seasons and all of a sudden it is one of the foremost orchestras in the world. It takes years and years of a strong tradition, of building and experience." ***—By Michael Walsh. Reported by Lee Griggs/Chicago and James Shepherd/London***

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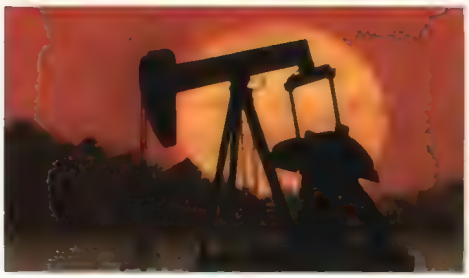

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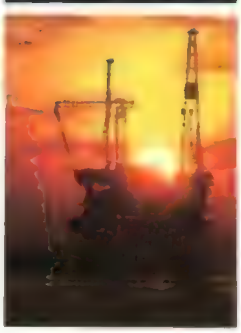

SUN

A lot of energy under one name.

Mother's Love, Son's Revenge

ELENI *by Nicholas Gage; Random House; 470 pages; $15.95*

As the Communist attempt to take over Greece became an increasingly bloody failure in 1948, the desperate leftist guerrillas, driven back to a few mountain coverts, adopted a cruel strategy: a *pedomasoma*, a "gathering up of children." The young were taken from occupied villages and sent as hostages to Albania and other nearby Iron Curtain countries. Publicly the guerrillas said the children were being protected from the hazards of war. In fact, the plan was meant to terrorize their parents into subservience to the guerrillas and to indoctrinate the children as a new generation of revolutionaries.

Peasants of the steep Mourgana region, the northwest roof of Greece, were horrified by the *pedomasoma*, but they were battered and half-starved by a decade of war, and few had the strength or cunning to resist. One who did was Eleni Gatzoyiannis of the little farm hamlet Lia. Though she had spent her life deferring to her father, a prosperous miller, and to her husband, a cook at a diner in far-off America who returned periodically to visit, Eleni was transformed by crisis into a leader: she organized the escape of 20 people of Lia, most of them women and children, down the mountains and through the line of battle. The group made it. Eleni did not. On the eve of the flight, she was ordered to harvest wheat under guerrilla supervision in fields miles away. When the escape was discovered, she was tortured, "tried" for treason, and denounced by neighbors who had envied her few pitiful "riches" from America. Then she was shot. Her last words were the cry "My children!"

Eleni, Nikola and his uncle Foto, circa 1946

One of those children was eight-year-old Nikola. Transported to the U.S. to join a father he had never met, the boy discovered the cathartic power of words when he wrote a school essay about his mother's death. He took the name Nicholas Gage and grew up to become an investigative reporter and foreign correspondent for the New York *Times*. Gradually, the grief of his childhood returned as an obsession. In 1979 Gage quit the newspaper to learn how and why his mother had been killed. He planned a crime of vengeance. He failed at that, but he has achieved instead, in *Eleni*, a kind of resurrection.

His book, part thriller, part history, part romantic epic, is a remarkable feat of technique, and of soul. Gage deftly shifts among hundreds of characters, dozens of locales, and a welter of big-scale narratives—World War II, the Greek civil war, the exodus of Mourgana refugees in every direction—that in lesser hands would overwhelm the story of one woman's family. He manages to be fair to people he has every reason to despise: he evokes the grievances of the guerrillas as fully as their treachery, the gullibility of the villagers as well as their jealousy and spite. Painfully, he recalls the mother whom he revered with the absolute awe and devotion of a child. Yet as he tells the story of her utter heroism, he views her with a journalist's balance and detachment.

Eleni was beautiful and eventually outspoken, but she was not a feminist, not even a matriarch. She was a country woman, brought up to a life of ceaseless, selfless duty to men and her elders. Wedding ceremonies in Lia traditionally included a moment when the groom stamped on the bride's toes to establish his dominance; on wedding nights, brides in Lia customarily slept with their mothers-in-law rather than their husbands, as a symbolic lesson in obedience to the new clan. Eleni scarcely thought of leaving her rigid culture until it began to shatter violently around her. She dreamed of joining her husband in America, but she did not try to learn his Western ways. Though he had bought her a big brass bed, she slept on rugs on the floor except when he was home. When he sent her a feather duster, she put it in a vase and displayed it in the best of her house's four rooms.

War transformed Eleni's simple life, and bought out in her family a crafty brutality needed for survival. When the guerrillas wanted to take her eldest daughter Olga as a soldier, Eleni seared the girl's foot with boiling water and a glowing poker so that she could not go. A male cousin of Eleni's escaped being drafted by lacerating his neck with nettles and painting his throat every morning with diluted hydrochloric acid.

Gage tells these stories vividly, unsparingly. He is equally candid about the catastrophic effects of his grandfather's hardheartedness, his uncle's greed, his father's preference for being a family man in Greece but a bachelor in America. During passages in which he debates inconclusively the nature of justice, Gage admits his own base impulses: he smuggled a gun into Greece in order to murder the now aged "judge" who had condemned his mother. At the last moment, having spat in the man's face, Gage renounced the crime because it would put his gratification ahead of his duty to his children, his living family. In a final sentence that is prefigured from the book's beginning, as in a classical Greek tragedy, Gage explains: "Summoning the hate necessary to kill Katis would destroy the part of me that is most like Eleni." —*By William A. Henry III*

Excerpt

"My mother's world was ruled by magic, superstition, ghosts and devils . . . but these were not enough to save her and her children from the war that swept into their mountains. When she saw that living by the strict village canons was not enough, when it became a choice between losing her children or her life, she discovered a strength that I now know is given to few.

Before my search was over I had to find my mother, to see her with the eyes of an adult, and to uncover her secret feelings about the world that caged her. I had to do this in order to learn how she wanted me to deal with her murderers. I had to communicate with her across the chasm of death to discover if, as she climbed toward that ravine to her execution, she was Antigone, meeting death with resignation because she had purposely defied a human command to honor a higher law of the heart, or if she was Hecuba, crying out for vengeance. What did she want me to do?"

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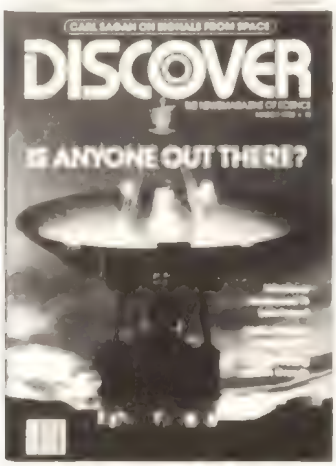

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Collaborations

ARARAT
by D.M. Thomas
Viking; 191 pages; $13.50

"All art is a collaboration, a translation if you like . . . plagiarism is a different matter," declares a character in *Ararat*. D.M. Thomas has set out to prove that dictum. In *The White Hotel*, his collaborative efforts were a critical and popular success. That novel began as an ingenious imitation of a case history by Freud, then moved to an account of the Nazi massacre of Jews at Babi Yar, originally written by a Russian novelist, Anatoli Kuznetsov. But what was an effective device in *The White Hotel* has become a conceit in *Ararat*. The density of literary allusion in Thomas' latest novel has rendered it virtually unintelligible.

For the centerpiece of his novel, Thomas has translated an unfinished story by Pushkin and supplied two alternative endings. Signs of Thomas' other collaborations are on virtually every page: snatches of Russian poetry, names of obscure Armenian writers, places that evoke poems by Pushkin.

The construction of the novel has not helped matters. *Ararat* is built on the ancient practice of poetic improvisation. Its key character, Rozanov, a Soviet poet and a scoundrel, has mastered the art of making up a story or a poem when presented with a subject by someone in his audience. The theme of Rozanov's current improvisation is—improvisations. He proceeds to spin out tales about other poets who then go on to invent tales of their own. The effect resembles a garishly colored Russian *matryoshka*: wooden dolls within wooden dolls.

D.M. Thomas

There is scarcely a discernible connection between the improvisers' tales. Usually after a bout of vicious lovemaking, each bard tells a snippet of a story. A Russian seduces a teen-age Polish gymnast on an ocean liner; an Armenian American on a pilgrimage to Soviet Armenia makes furious love with her guide. The lengthiest improvisation is narrated by the poet Surkov, who fancies he is Pushkin incarnate. After a jealous scene with Pushkin's wife, he retells the master's unfinished tale, *Egyptian Nights*, followed by a parodic string of bromides: "Her black eyes flashed. Her red lips were inviting. Her bosom swelled over the decolletage."

Towering over *Ararat* is the mountain of the same name, a symbol of unattainable purity. The characters frequently invoke it, or plan visits to Soviet Armenia so they may glimpse it in the mists. The shadow it casts upon the characters is the memory of the Turkish massacre of Ar-

menians in 1915. Indeed, one important figure is Everyman's executioner, who improvises a story of how he participated in this and other mass murders.

As the invocation of Mount Ararat is meant to raise the eyes heavenward, Thomas' repeated mention of Russia's greatest poets from Pushkin to Pasternak is obviously intended to heighten the moral tone of this melodrama of murderers, scoundrels and sadistic sex. As Thomas well knows, poets have historically served as a symbol of redemption in Russia. But merely dropping their names will not redeem *Ararat* for readers who expected more from the author of *The White Hotel*. —*By Patricia Blake*

Long Shadow

LECTURES ON DON QUIXOTE
by Vladimir Nabokov; Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; 219 pages; $17.95

Master of nuance, connoisseur of transparent things, Vladimir Nabokov disliked the blunt instruments of art. "I remember with delight," he liked to say, "tearing apart *Don Quixote*, a cruel and crude old book, before six hundred students . . ." Yet he lectured on the book at Harvard, partly because it was required reading but also because it struck some chord in the speaker. The lectures, reconstructed by Editor Fredson Bowers, disclose reasons for that resonance.

As Nabokov acknowledges, *Don Quixote* the novel may be flawed, but Don Quixote the man is permanent. The bony knight and his fat squire, Sancho Panza, are the most recognizable duo in all of fiction. The lecturer traces their "long shadow" through the works of such disparate men as Dickens, Flaubert and Tolstoy. Had he ventured only a little further, he might have found quixotic elements in the books of Saul Bellow, John Updike and Vladimir Nabokov.

But influence does not guarantee indulgence. As the great Russian scrutinizes the great Spaniard, revisionism becomes the order of the day. Sancho's celebrated proverbs are in fact "not very mirth provoking . . . The corniest modern gag is funnier." Don Quixote's attempts to act like an old cavalier show "a rather limited schoolboyish imagination in the way of pranks." As for the author, "Cervantes . . . seems to have had alternate phases of lucidity . . . and sloppy vagueness, much as his hero was mad in patches." Don and squire wander and blunder through Spain, tilting at customs and rituals, obscure priests and famous windmills. En route, they are beaten and humiliated in "a veritable encyclopedia of cruelty." Even the animals suffer so greatly, admits Cervantes, that if a horse "had possessed the power to complain, you may be sure that he would have been an equal for Sancho and his master."

Indignity by indignity, affront by affront, the lecturer carefully guides his students through the work. Even his slips are calculated: "Platitudes (sorry, latitudes)." There are no side trips for biography. Of the author's "maimed hand you will learn not from me," says Nabokov, turning back to the "irresponsible, infantile, barbed and barbarous world of the book."

If that world is so morally repugnant, why did the lecturer grant it so much of his time and intelligence? Because, as the reader can see, in the process of analyzing the don he was converted by him. To Nabokov, the ultimate displaced person, the contemporary world increasingly came to appear more barbarous than the thumbscrew age of Cervantes. With each lecture, the knight of doleful countenance gains in vitality and stature. But there is a deeper source of affection. Like his predecessor, Nabokov punctuated his fiction with instances of comic cruelty, and for the same black-comic purpose. In *Laughter in the Dark*, a blind man is teased by his wife and her lover; in *Lolita*, Humbert Humbert pumps bullets into the loquacious Quilty, who keeps talking until the blood runs out; in *Ada*, an old man dies believing that he is being ridden by a great rat, an image that he remembers from a Bosch painting. These tormented protagonists, every one of them, tumble from the don's suit of armor, commenting on the pains of life as they leave it.

Today, as Nabokov recognized, Quixote can no longer be regarded simply as a clownish victim: "He has ridden for three hundred and fifty years through the jungles and tundras of human thought . . . We do not laugh at him any longer. His blazon is pity, his banner is beauty. He stands for everything that is gentle, forlorn, pure, unselfish and gallant. The parody has become a paragon." The word paragon adheres oddly to his followers, Humbert & Co. But it fits them as appropriately as the dented helmet sits on the sad old head of the don. —*By Stefan Kanfer*

Vladimir Nabokov
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STINGY!

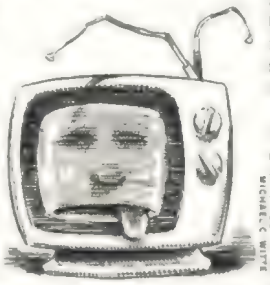
Bad News for Broadcasters

People are still watching TV, a study says, but liking it less

In Las Vegas, a city where optimism is an occupational hazard, junketing television broadcasters were dealt a bad hand last week. The dealer, ironically, was the National Association of Broadcasters, a trade organization that usually touts the future of TV in royal flush terms. At a press conference during its annual convention, the N.A.B. released a study that resembled an elaborate good-news/bad-news joke. The good news: Americans are watching as much television as before. The bad news: they like it a whole lot less. "This study is a little daring for a trade association to reveal to its members," said a candid but not contrite N.A.B. President Eddie Fritts. "But we did it to be sure that our members are equipped to deal with what's coming."

The study, conducted in conjunction with McHugh & Hoffman, a TV consulting firm, will not be released officially for a few weeks, but it is already making network executives squirm. The report is based on a poll of 1,500 viewers and follows up a similar study made six years ago. The responses, which come from all rungs on the socioeconomic ladder, indicate that TV is playing an increasingly less important role in people's lives.

Its role apparently is that of a baby sitter for the brain. While television is considered a "relaxing and enjoyable pastime," it literally functions as just that, a "pastime," an activity for those times when people have nothing better to do. The main reason cited for video ennui is the programming: only 57% of the respondents said that they were satisfied with the quality of entertainment served up by the tube. Others were fearful, moreover, that the programming was a negative influence on their behavior and on language.



NICHOLAS WILDE

Although the study claims that viewers are becoming more sophisticated and discriminating, it also suggests that people are indifferent to whether their TV signal comes from cable, over-the-air broadcast or microwave. They just want to be informed and entertained, thank you, and damn the technology. As far as technical innovations are concerned, most people surveyed wanted high-definition TV signals, which will simply enable them to see more clearly the shows they do not like watching anyway. The brave new world of convenience offered by electronic newspapers, home banking and shopping via TV does not thrill them: it seems that people want to balance their checkbooks with pencils and finger the dresses to see if they really are all wool. This, says the study, is an example of the so-called high-tech/high-touch phenomenon, which means that as technology gets more sophisticated, people seek a counterbalance in human contact.

Thus far, network executives seem only to want to execute the messenger of these bad tidings, rather than heed the message. Said one: "This is the ultimate death wish come to fruition within the industry. Do you think if the cigarette industry found that smoking causes cancer, they'd call a press conference to advertise the fact?" Yet the report may also serve to warm the hearts of crass producers. They now have more reason than ever to believe that no matter what they put on the air, viewers may carp and complain, but they will continue to watch. ■

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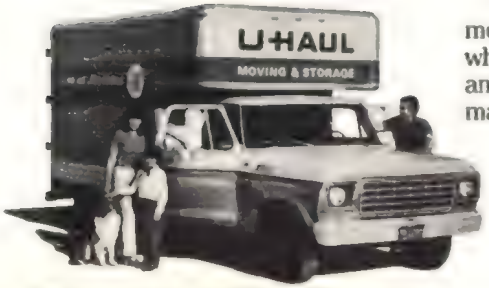

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Masked to hide their identity, illegal Salvadoran refugees join in worship at Chicago's Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ

"Betray Not the Fugitive"

Churches defy the law to give sanctuary to Salvadoran exiles

In a makeshift, third-floor apartment inside Seattle's University Baptist Church, a young woman refugee from El Salvador prepares for the birth of her baby, while down the hall a Salvadoran army deserter waits until he can flee to Canada. In Chicago's Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ, a Salvadoran family of six lives above the gym. "If they make us go back," says the father, "we will disappear and die for certain."

The Seattle and Chicago churches are part of a growing ecumenical network of U.S. congregations, at least 43 to date, that are openly invoking the ancient right of "sanctuary" within a holy place to shelter more than 100 illegal refugees, mainly from El Salvador, who have escaped from Central America. Hundreds of other churches are giving aid to refugees and supporting the movement. To hide their identities, many of the fugitives wear masks while on public view in the churches. The United Methodist Church and United Presbyterian Church have asked their 47,000 congregations to proclaim sanctuary, and the board of directors of the American Friends Service Committee has urged Quakers to give asylum to the refugees.

Though most of the sanctuary congregations are Protestant, Milwaukee's Roman Catholic Archbishop Rembert Weakland last month opened archdiocesan property to the refugees and on Easter weekend personally baptized, in Spanish, two children of the seven Salvadorans. Says Weakland: "Sanctuary is not really a way of avoiding justice, but a holy respite so that true justice can eventually be done." But three other Catholic prelates, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago and Archbishops John Roach of St. Paul–Minneapolis and James Hickey of Washington, have criticized the movement, arguing that Catholics should aid refugees through legal means and lobby to change laws. Roach, who is president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, feels that granting sanctuary may be illegal, although the concept has never been tested in court.

Presbyterian "refuge" in Tucson

Christians who advocate lawbreaking for a higher good believe it is futile for the Central American exiles to apply for legal residency. Some 250,000 are in the U.S. illegally, and last year the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) approved only 74 applications for asylum from Salvadorans, rejected 1,067, and faces a backlog of 25,000 other cases. The Government, which has deported 24,700 Salvadorans since 1980, argues that most Central American refugees are ineligible to be granted asylum under U.S. law because they are fleeing harsh economic conditions rather than political persecution. The INS declares that there is no proof that those deported from the U.S. have been tortured or executed, although Salvadorans in the U.S. insist that those who have been sent back have disappeared or been mistreated.

The INS states that it has no plans to raid church premises to seize refugees, noting that it has enough trouble dealing with Salvadorans it can easily reach. Says an INS agent in Chicago: "We have no wish to inflame passions." Thus the hundreds of church members involved in the movement are unlikely to face the statutory penalties of up to five years in prison and a $2,000 fine for harboring illegal aliens. But the fact remains that those granting asylum have to come to terms with their open defiance of the law.

The concept of sanctuary in a holy place was known in ancient Athens. Today's sanctuary advocates often quote Isaiah: "Hide the outcasts, betray not the fugitive." From the early Christian era until the 17th century, when its power declined, the Catholic Church in Europe provided havens. The practice was revived in the U.S. before the Civil War to aid fugitive slaves. During the Viet Nam era, some draft resisters sought shelter in churches, but were unceremoniously seized by federal agents.

For John Steinbruck, a Lutheran pastor in Washington, the issue today is compelling and clear: "The church by definition is a sanctuary. If we don't accept that, we ought to stop false advertising and close up shop." However, Roger Shinn, a social ethics professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York, doubts that the historic concept has any bearing in the U.S.

The sanctuary movement was started two years ago by Quaker Jim Corbett and colleagues in the Tucson Ecumenical Council. The movement's national coordinator is the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, which has sent booklets promoting the sanctuary ministry to more than 5,000 inquiring congregations. Last month the National Council of Churches and the Lutheran Council in the U.S.A. began sending their congregations materials on helping the refugees.

As they grant sanctuary, many congregations feel that they are benefiting from the experience as much as the refugees. Pastor John Fife of Tucson's Southside Presbyterian Church says that providing a refuge has been a "conversion experience" that has enriched the faith of his parishioners. Fife's church, one of the most important in the movement, has sheltered and then passed on to churches in the north more than 450 Central American refugees. —*By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Anne Constable/Washington and Lee Griggs/Chicago*

Sport

Lights Out

Masters No. 2 for Ballesteros

In Craig Stadler (1982 Masters), Ray Floyd (1982 P.G.A.) and Tom Watson (1982 U.S. and British Opens), Severiano Ballesteros had the defenders of all the major golf championships to contend with last week in the final round of the 1983 Masters. "They are one of the best three," agreed the adventurous Spaniard, 26, who showed he is one of the best himself, easily winning his second Masters championship in four years. That is, if the following can be termed easy:

At the first hole, Ballesteros struck a 7-iron within 8 ft. and made the putt for a birdie; at the second, a 4-wood within 15 ft., an eagle; at the fourth, a 2-iron that scarcely missed being a hole in one. Starting one shot behind Stadler and Floyd, he now led the tournament by three. Watson's game plan to recoup two strokes against the leaders had been to shoot 34 on the front nine, which is exactly what he did, only to fall four behind Ballesteros.

Then, when the eminent Americans forcibly pressed Augusta National for birdies, the rolling course fitfully responded with bogeys. Unwittingly, Texans Ben Crenshaw and Tom Kite overtook them all to finish second, four shots behind Ballesteros. "Play the course," the winner had counseled himself, "and be cool." Asked how his second Masters victory compared with the first, Ballesteros said, "I tell you, they are both very sweet. But the first is always the best, like when you marry the first time." He is a bachelor.

The fourth son of "a farmer, a rower, a very strong man," Ballesteros learned golf from the swing of his brother Manuel, 34, and practiced "on the beach from the age of nine, on the golf course since 15" in Santander, Spain. At 16, Seve turned professional, a handsome boy with a wild talent. His early dedication extended to playing late after dark, an advantage at Augusta this year when a day and a half of rain kept the golfers out past dusk on Saturday, trying to complete the second round in hopes of cramming the last 36 holes into a marathon Sunday. To Arnold Palmer's relief, they did not quite make it, and the tournament was prolonged a day.

Seve salutes his "lucky" victory

A touch of laughter and a twinge of hurt.

Palmer, 53, winner of four Masters titles, shot a four-under-par 68 in a nostalgic first round, making his incorrigible followers wonder if he could win again. "Damn right," Palmer said, but then he shot 74, 76 and 78. Jack Nicklaus, 43, who has won five Masters, was asked who he thought would win. "When I'm not here any more," Nicklaus answered softly, "I'll pick somebody else." Following a first-round 73, Nicklaus had to withdraw with a creaky back. Ballesteros has a bad back too, but at the mention of it after his closing 69, he said, "My back is very good. Is yours all right?"

There was a touch of laughter, and a twinge of hurt, in almost everything Ballesteros said afterward. "You have to play good here—I mean lucky. I never play good," he said, smiling. "I just want to be a very lucky player for many years." Considering that he has also won a British Open (1979) and 29 professional tournaments internationally, Ballesteros feels unappreciated and unloved. Partial to the European custom of paying celebrated pros "appearance money," win or lose, he is regarded by the British press as a bit of a profiteer and by the Americans as something of a carpetbagger. "One year I will come over here full time," Ballesteros pledged, again with that smile, "to see how good I am."

According to Runner-Up Crenshaw, "He has shots that nobody else has ever thought of," and almost as much call for them as Palmer. Watson said, "He's like Arnold Palmer in that he makes as many mistakes as good shots in normal circumstances. When he's on, he shoots lights out." Maybe all of them should start practicing in the dark. ■

Milestones

BORN. To **Maria Imelda** ("Imee") **Marcos,** 27, older daughter of Philippine President Ferdinand and First Lady Imelda Marcos, and **Tomas Manotoc,** 33, divorced amateur sportsman whom she married in Virginia 16 months ago: their first child, a son (he has two children by a previous marriage that under Philippine law is indissoluble); in Honolulu. Name: Fernando Martin. Weight: 6 lbs. 8 oz. Her parents were bitterly opposed to the romance because of his marital status, and the couple had lived largely apart. But in March they went to Hawaii so that the baby could be born in the U.S.—and legitimate.

BORN. To **Valerie Velardi,** 31, ballet dancer, and her husband of five years, **Robin Williams,** 30, hyperkinetic comic actor *(Popeye, The World According to Garp* and TV's *Mork and Mindy):* their first child, a son; in San Francisco. Name: Zachary. Weight: 7 lbs. 6 oz.

DIED. Phillip Burton, 56, eleven-term Democratic California Congressman whose skills at political dealmaking and infighting made him one of the most influential members of the House; of a ruptured aorta; in San Francisco. He called himself a "fighting liberal"; with the build, voice and vocabulary of a longshoreman from his San Francisco district, he fit the part. But he was pragmatic and persuasive in pursuing liberal goals, including higher minimum wages, mine safety, improved old age and disability benefits, and the creation of national parks. In 1976 he came within one vote of becoming majority leader, losing in part because of his aggressiveness.

DIED. Dolores Del Rio, 78, enduringly beautiful Mexican movie actress; in Newport Beach, Calif. Even in the silent era she tended to be typecast in such films as *Ramona* (1928) and *The Loves of Carmen* (1927); after sound, her accent limited her still further, though she starred in *Flying Down to Rio* (1933) and *Madame Du Barry* (1934). Finally sick of the Hollywood yoke, she returned to Mexico and helped establish the country's movie industry, notably with *María Candelaria* in 1943.

DIED. Norbert Pearlroth, 89, researcher who, believe it or not, from 1923 to 1975 was the sole discoverer and documenter of all the obscure and fascinating trivia that made up the syndicated comic strip *Ripley's Believe It or Not;* of heart and kidney diseases; in New York City. Hired by Strip Creator and Illustrator Robert Ripley for his linguistic abilities and memory for detail, Pearlroth thereafter spent seven days a week every week in the New York Public Library, unearthing at least 62,192 amazing facts and anecdotes. One skeptical reader wrote 27,167 double-checking letters to sources and never found an unsubstantiated item.

In Praise of Serious Hats

A hat has the effect of making the human head a kind of residence. It gives the brain a dome and porch roof, and a strange little portable sense of place. It is a wonderful spot to look out from under, a sort of individual estate. A man feels at home in a hat, established. But wearing a hat is also like having the FBI set you up with a new identity in a different city. It can change you.

The subject here is the serious hat. Not the "fun" hat. Not the Greek fisherman's hat. The writer Roy Blount Jr. has correctly remarked that no man should ever wear a Greek fisherman's hat who is not 1) Greek and 2) a fisherman. In the same spirit, it is probably true that no man should wear a cowboy hat who is not 1) a cowboy or 2) President of the United States.

The serious hat is not a masquerade, not a goof and not an announcement that while a man may look like a middle-aged New York City account executive, he harbors a West Texan in his soul, the real interior galoot made manifest in the feathered Stetson that sits on the bar. The serious hat is the opposite of a disguise. It is a working piece of clothes and an adjunct of character.

Freud implied that a man putting on a hat was performing a phallic gesture. One historian of costume, James Laver, remarked that "epochs of extreme male domination have coincided with high hats for men." What does that tell us about Abraham Lincoln? Well, Freud is also said to have conceded that a cigar is sometimes merely a cigar.

But a hat does have psychological power. A man places the thing just on top of his brain, and the one takes emanations from the other. The ancient Egyptians would go to parties in an ornamental cone of perfumed wax. The wax would melt down onto the wearer as the party heated up. The hat responded to the brain's temperature. A hat can be revealing, intimate. It can also be dangerous: no other article of clothing has the potential to make a man look so ridiculous. There is the terror of the whisper: *Why does he wear that silly little hat?*

The first problem that serious hats and hatters face is that most men tend to think they look idiotic wearing one. That is often true, but need not be. Fred Astaire may be God's best human design for a serious hat (or for something more problematic, like the straw boater). But even short fat men, who think that serious hats turn them into Nikita Khrushchev, can usually find one that makes them look better than they deserve. Oddly, women often wear men's hats more handsomely than men do.

The second problem facing hatters is that, except in a metaphysical sense, the hat is far less necessary than it once was. Men confront the elements only briefly, as they walk through the parking lot. So hats and hatters live at the mercy of fashion, the whimsical Red Queen. ("Off with their hats!")

The serious hat dies out regularly, like a rare bird. Then it is sighted only occasionally, resting, say, on Tom Wolfe's head, or disappearing down the street on the pate of a doddering banker. But it usually somehow struggles back. Fashion makes great lazy circles in time.

John Kennedy did the most serious recent damage to hats. After all the earnest geriatric hats of the Eisenhower years (John Foster Dulles peering over the Brink in his gray homburg), Kennedy went around tousled and hatless, displaying the thick hair of which he was proud. Hatlessness became a mark of youth. A stretch of profound hatlessness set in.

That may be ending. A period of modestly ripe hattedness could be coming on. It began with the Western hat fad a few years ago. The demand for Western hats has fallen off sharply now, of course. "Nothing dropped dead so fast," says Burton Berinsky, president of New York City's Jay Lord Hatters. "It was like the Nehru jacket." But, fortunately for hatters, a sense of what is called "retro" elegance has taken hold with many men in their 20s and 30s. Movies have made the difference: *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (with Harrison Ford), *Chariots of Fire* and *Brideshead Revisited*. The hats were period costumes, but close enough to be plausibly wearable now. Serious hats skipped the generation of the '60s. Now men are buying trilbies and fedoras and, with spring, panamas and boaters.

Harrison Ford

John Foster Dulles

Fred Astaire

Marlene Dietrich

The serious hat remains a sort of minority item of clothing. The most popular hats are still the adjustable baseball-type caps, often with the logo of some tractor manufacturer on them. Such hats are entirely serious to farmers and truckers. So are cowboy hats to ranchers. Otherwise they degenerate to the status of costume: rube chic.

Although some men are returning to the serious hat, most find that the point of the thing still eludes them. The hat is a strange, noble and faintly absurd object to put on the top of one's head. Separated by the interval of face from the rest of the body's clothing, it has a certain singularity, resting just above the eyes, the countenance, the character. The hat's ancient (pre-urban, pre-car) purposes were 1) to keep off sun or rain or snow; 2) to protect the soldier's head; 3) to delineate profession and status (the king's crown, the bishop's miter, the academic's mortarboard); 4) to express some religious significance; 5) to provide ornament; and 6) to conceal baldness.

The hat still performs Function 6 well enough. What otherwise is the point? Serious hats can still be useful as signals of social class, and even, vaguely, of profession. The awful old narrow-brimmed Madison Avenue crash helmet of the '50s (what Tom Wolfe calls "the stingy-brim") still walks around Wall Street in numbers. Ornament, certainly. A hat makes a wonderful prop. A man can pose endlessly in it, and scowl like Bogart. He can display weird vestigial courtesies, like removing it from his head when a woman gets onto the elevator; the gesture will inevitably make her think of Rhett Butler. A hat can italicize an attitude or bring an interesting, enigmatic shade across the upper face.

Men for centuries have worn much more bizarre things on their heads. Disgusting powdered wigs, like great greasy rugs of flour, for example. In the 16th century, some European men wore a red rose or a carnation behind the ear. It is probably just as well that that is no longer the custom among, say, business executives.

Some of today's hats are splendidly elegant. They can give a man a certain jaunty completeness, if he is careful in the way he chooses. The first rule should probably be: Never try to wear a hat that has more character than you do. —*By Lance Morrow*

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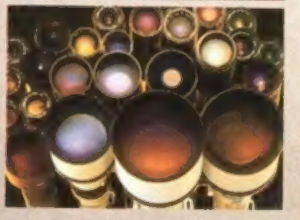

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